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The Nation.

December 25, 1982 $1.25; U.K. 65p

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EDITORIAL

TO MAKE WAR DELEGITIMATE

"War and the preparation for war have acquired legitimacy," said Alva Myrdal earlier this month when accepting the Nobel Peace Prize. On that same day, the Reagan Administration termed "unacceptable" a Soviet offer to reduce its intermediate-range missile strength from more than 600 to 250—the lowest level since Moscow's military buildup began in the 1960s.

The Administration's response was only to complain that the Kremlin's asking price was too high: "Their proposal would still mean they would have medium-range missiles and we would be allowed none."

The ways of officialdom are depressing. No wonder that the renowned physicist George Kistiakowsky, who died this month, was moved to write an editorial for *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* with what he called his "parting words": "Forget the channels. There is simply not enough time left before the world explodes. Concentrate instead on organizing, with so many others who are of like mind, a mass movement for peace such as there has not been before."

Myrdal and Kistiakowsky, in tandem, are right: the preparation for war has become legitimate and therefore war is dreadfully probable, and the only way to "delegitimate" war and move toward peace is to organize—to build the nuclear freeze campaign in America and the ban-the-bomb protest in Europe into an absolutely unprecedented movement.

It may be too much to expect that even in this season when peace is formally—albeit temporarily—approved, the Reagan people will pay its message much mind. But it is perhaps enough, for now, for the antinuclear movement here and abroad to repeat the chorus of peace on earth, good will to all, loudly enough so that they cannot forget it. Then, wait till next year.

THE SENATE'S HIDDEN CABAL
Christopher Hitchens

THE LESSONS OF NOVEMBER
Andrew Young

WEST BANK BOMBINGS
Robert I. Friedman

BLACK UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA
Miriam Lacob

ART BOOKS, BOOKS ON ART
Dore Ashton

CHRISTMAS BOOK LISTS
Nation Editors and Friends

C.I.A. AGENTS NEVER DIE . . .

HIGH TIMES IN THE 'POLITICAL RISK' BUSINESS

PETER H. STONE

Until his retirement in 1980 from the Central Intelligence Agency, Ted Kobrin held a rather unusual position: he was the agency's "outplacement officer." For four years Kobrin was responsible for advising retiring agents on where they might find suitable work. "Everyone got the same treatment," he recalls. "We gave them job leads." Some of the more seasoned hands, however, he directed to the new breed of consulting firms that specialize in "political risk" analysis for American multinational corporations. "The field of political risk," Kobrin says, "is one to which many former agents would turn because of their experience. There are quite a few ex-C.I.A. people doing that sort of thing."

One of Kobrin's main targets for C.I.A. people with the appropriate background was IMAR, the International Management Analysis and Resources Corporation, which describes itself as a consulting firm providing "risk analysis information designed to meet the challenge of political violence and investment uncertainties around the world." IMAR was founded by Eleazer Williams, a former Singapore station chief for the C.I.A., with the help of Brooks McClure, a twenty-five-year veteran of the U.S. Information Agency specializing in counterterrorism, and Robert Shellow, the chief social scientist for a U.S. government study of civil disorders in 1967. (Williams has since left IMAR to work on his own.) IMAR boasts that among its network of some 800 associates are former career Foreign Service officers, C.I.A. security and clandestine field operatives, and specialists in counterterrorism. "When we ring

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LETTERS.

BARRON SOURCES

Pleasantville, N.Y.

The November 6 *Nation*, containing an article by Frank Donner ["The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement"], has been brought to my attention. Because Donner makes maliciously false references to me and my writings, legal considerations require that I comment.

Donner characterizes my book *KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents* as "a work that is widely understood to have been based on material sent to Barron by former C.I.A. superspook James J. Angleton."

Angleton contributed no data whatsoever to the book. To my knowledge, nobody heretofore has ever suggested that he did. Donner's statement is sheer fabrication.

Donner writes: "In his book *Legend* (published by Reader's Digest Press), Epstein, like Barron, served as a flak for superspook Angleton's claims that Lee Harvey Oswald was a K.G.B. agent equipped with a 'cover story.'" In my entire book, only two paragraphs concern Lee Harvey Oswald. They clearly indicate that Oswald was *not* a K.G.B. agent. By insinuating that I propagated anybody's "claim" that Oswald was a K.G.B. agent, Donner recklessly perverts the truth.

Donner's insinuation that the Central Intelligence Agency is responsible for anything I have written is equally false. Except for having served in the Navy, I have never been employed by, worked for or accepted a cent of compensation from any agency of the United States government.

Donner's article is flawed by many other errors. I do not have time to correct them all.

John Barron

DONNER REPLIES

South Norwalk, Conn.

I did not make the statements in my article about John Barron and James J. Angleton maliciously but on the basis of information supplied by reputable investigative reporters who specialize in intelligence matters. If Barron has any doubts as to my statement about his relationship with Angleton being "widely understood," I suggest that he ask a few of the many researchers in this area. And as to his being coupled with Epstein, this was meant only to remind the reader that both of these writers ended up spreading superspook Angleton's message, not to suggest that Barron had any particular interest in Oswald.

Barron's claim that the Central Intelligence Agency is not "responsible" for anything he wrote and that he has "never been employed by, worked for or accepted a cent of compensation from" any government agency is not the issue here. What is at issue is whether he accepted help from, or traded favors with, or was briefed by intelligence agents. I believe his own work makes an affirmative conclusion obvious.

I find it both curious and understandable that Barron does not deign to deal with my criticism of his theory that the K.G.B. controls the nuclear freeze movement. Barron contends that the freeze movement was nurtured at a March 1981 Georgetown University conference attended by an alleged K.G.B. agent, Yuri Kapralov, and another alleged Russian spy. At the conference, Kapralov did not mention the freeze in his main address, but when subsequently asked in a panel discussion whether he agreed with the freeze concept he replied, "Absolutely, I think it's great." David McCauley, head of the Vermont chapter of the American Friends Service Committee, and also present, invited Kapralov to come to Vermont. Kapralov was reluctant but finally acceded after ten telephone calls and several letters. In his presentation in Waterbury, Vermont, he stressed the views of the Soviet leadership on disarmament generally, reading from the published speeches of Brezhnev and Gromyko, and in passing stated, "We look very favorably on the idea of a nuclear freeze." This is a K.G.B. agent?

Barron's K.G.B. scenario was dealt its first blow by the enormous turnout at the June 12 rally in New York City. The landslide November 2 vote for the freeze made his assertion look ludicrous. Then came the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, which, Barron apparently would have us believe, was also an unwitting victim of K.G.B. knavery.

On December 9, the House Intelligence Committee made public the 337-page transcript of hearings it held in July on Soviet involvement in the freeze and disarmament movements. Nowhere in the transcript, which includes the testimony of the deputy director of Central Intelligence, the assistant director for intelligence of the F.B.I. and a Soviet defector (a former K.G.B. major) can one find confirmation or even wispy support for the Barron version of the Soviet role in the American freeze movement.

In an accompanying statement, committee chairman Edward Boland summarized the results of an F.B.I. investigation of Soviet attempts to influence events in the United States: "Soviet active measures have had, at best, a minimal impact on U.S. decision makers." He added that "on the basis of my own review of the material submitted by the F.B.I., it is my personal assessment that Soviet agents have had no significant influence on the nuclear freeze movement. The bottom line is that the hearings provide no evidence that the Soviets direct, manage or manipulate the nuclear freeze movement." Can it be that the K.G.B has deceived not only the Catholic bishops, the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. but the House Intelligence Committee as well?

On December 10, President Reagan dished out a fourth serving of his "sincere and well-intentioned" dupe porridge—slightly watered down this time. As before, his efforts produced horselaughs. Particularly ridiculous was his assertion to reporters that "the first man who proposed the nuclear freeze was in February 21, 1981, in Moscow, Leonid Brezhnev." He chose to ignore that in 1979 Senator Mark Hatfield had advanced such a proposal as an amendment to SALT II. The President's authority for this gem is apparently Barron's article, which tells us that Brezhnev called for a freeze on February 23, 1981. Indeed, the White House has specifically cited Barron's article as a prime source for Reagan's charges of dupery.

Barron obviously prefers to dwell on my alleged inaccuracies rather than defend his ideologically blinkered article, which concludes: "Once again the K.G.B. has inverted reality." But can it possibly be argued that Barron has respected reality—especially in light of the events recounted above and his continuing failure to document his key contentions?

Finally, it is a cruel irony that the same writer who professes outrage at my account of his background shows no sensitivity at all about using smears in his own writing. The participants in the Georgetown conference—Mobilization for Survival, Women Strike for Peace, Nuclear Freeze Campaign, Riverside Church Disarmament Program, Physicians for Social Responsibility, the American Friends Service Committee—are depicted in Barron's article as subversive actors in a Moscow-directed operation, betrayers of the legitimate interests of the United States. Did he investigate the accuracy of his allegations or, as the record indicates, did he simply parrot the state-of-the-art calumnies of John Rees?

Frank Donner

A CALL FOR THE CENSORED

Rohnert Park, Calif.

Nation readers are invited to participate in a national media research project to compile "The Ten Best Censored Stories of 1982." They can help the public learn more about what is happening in society by nominating stories they feel should have received more coverage in the mass news media.

The stories should be current and of national social significance. They may have received no mainstream media coverage at all or may have appeared in the back pages of a newspaper or in a small-circulation magazine.

The entry deadline for the seventh annual effort of Project Censored is February 1, 1983. To nominate a "best censored" story of 1982, readers should send a copy of the story, including the source and date, to me at Project Censored, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, CA 94928.

Carl Jensen

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The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Manager,* Carole Kraemer; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Subscription Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Circulation Assistant,* Patty Peltekos; *Classified,* Virginia Cannon; *Director of Development and Publicity,* Laurie Lipper; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1982 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, $35; two years, $65; six months, $17.50. Add $7 per year postage Canada, Mexico; $13 per year other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days of publication date; back issues available $3 prepaid ($4 foreign). **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.

EDITORIALS.

Once Again, Arms

In the wake of President Reagan's visit with Guatemalan leader Gen. Efraín Rios Montt in Honduras, the question is not whether the Administration intends to resume large-scale military aid to Guatemala but when. Aid was reduced to a trickle in 1977 because of human rights abuses; now, despite reports by Guatemala's bishops and others that slaughter in the country has reached the level of "genocide," Reagan has stated that Rios Montt's critics have given the general "a bum rap" and has affirmed Rios Montt's "total dedication to democracy."

At issue now, according to our reporter Cynthia Arnson, is whether the Administration will go through with a $3 million sale of spare parts for a fleet of helicopters provided in the early 1970s. Recent helicopter sales to Guatemala through "nonmilitary" channels, however, suggest that the spare-parts sale is largely symbolic, designed to feel out Congressional reaction and prepare the way for more military assistance in the future.

A report by the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 1982-83*, says that Guatemala bought twenty-one "civilian" helicopters from the United States in the last year, all manufactured by Bell Helicopter and exported with Commerce Department sanction. The models—Bell 212s, 412s, 206Bs and 206L-1s—are less sophisticated versions of Bell's standard military designs. But once in Guatemala, says the arms industry's Defense Marketing Service, some of the fleet were fitted with .30-caliber machine guns and others have served as troop transports. Moreover, purchase agreements signed in New York, according to a banking source, show that the Guatemalan Army has bought materials to bulletproof and

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fireproof the helicopters, paying for them with coffee futures. And *The Fort Worth Star Telegram* (Bell has its headquarters in Fort Worth) has reported that Bell trained Guatemalan Air Force pilots during the last year.

While the sale of helicopters as civilian aircraft is legal, if it can be shown that they are being used for military purposes that would contravene an Administration obligation to consult members of Congress before providing military equipment to Guatemala. Representative Michael Barnes, chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, told *The Star Telegram* that "the understanding that Congress has" is that the Administration is not permitted to sell "military equipment to Guatemala . . . and that would obviously encompass helicopters that are used for military purposes."

Congress and the Administration have been deadlocked for the last eight months over the issue of military aid to Rios Montt. The State Department has argued, as it did in the case of El Salvador two years ago, that strong support for the government is necessary now to preclude a coup by elements further to the right. The centerpiece of its new hard-sell strategy on the Hill is Rios Montt's announcement that elections would "probably" be held in 1983 and its assertion that human rights, while not perfect, are "improving."

Congress, however, has weighed in heavily against military assistance. In late November, House Foreign Affairs Committee chairman Clement Zablocki wrote to Secretary of State Shultz warning him that Congress might enact a total embargo on arms to Guatemala if the views of the committee against aid now were not heeded. And the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Mark Hatfield, indirectly threatened to tie up future foreign aid requests if the Administration insists on going ahead with aid.

But Congress may no longer be able to stop the Administration. One Senate aide stated that he is "making the assumption" that the spare-parts sale will be approved by Reagan, and after that who knows? "It's out of our hands," said another Capitol Hill staffer. "And if President Reagan stays involved it looks like we might not have a chance."

A Genetic Code

For the past two years, scientists in a handful of laboratories around the world have been inserting genes into mouse embryos and watching as the genetically engineered embryos develop into adult mice capable of passing the new genes on to their descendants. Just last week, researchers reported transplanting into mice genes governing growth in rats and producing mice twice their normal size. Scientists now want to apply what they have learned to other mammals; they hope genetic engineering of cattle, for example, will result in more meat and milk.

What can be done in mice can presumably be done in human beings. That is just one of the reasons we need a method for keeping an eye on genetic engineering—and one of the reasons we need a Genetic Engineering Commission.

Oversight of genetic engineering has been recommended in recent reports from the National Council of Churches and the President's Commission for the Study of Ethical Problems in Medicine and Biomedical and Behavioral Research. Congress has also begun to consider the idea, and in the next session Representative Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee will probably propose legislation establishing an oversight organization.

Genetic engineering, only a decade old, can make extraordinary contributions to human life. Yet it could have gruesome consequences as well. Many people recoil at the notion of the genetic engineering of human embryos, but the scary possibilities do not stop there. Genetic engineering could produce appalling biological weapons. It could harm rather than help those who suffer from a disease if wrongly or prematurely applied. It could have ghastly ecological effects.

By insuring that genetic engineering research and experiments are carried on openly, a Genetic Engineering Commission could help prevent such nightmares. The commission could also accomplish other desirable goals. It could be a forum for exploring a wide array of issues that range from research ethics to patent law, for debating such questions as the appropriate relationship between academia and industry, for philosophical musings about the nature of human beings. It could be an educational body, promulgating a realistic rather than fanciful understanding of the new technology's possibilities. It could be a source of expert advice for scientists. It could be a clearinghouse, coordinating the information and activities of an assortment of agencies, preventing the waste, overlaps and mistakes that can stem from a piecemeal approach.

Some of the commissioners, but only a minority, should be genetic engineers from the academy and industry. Some should be experts in law, philosophy and the social and behavioral sciences whose training bears on the novel problems of genetic engineering. Most important will be members of the general public, whose "naïve" questions can be counted on to cut through the experts' obfuscatory jargon and assumptions.

The commission will need to draw on the expertise of specialists in many areas—for example, ecology, epidemiology and industrial design. It should have links to all the Federal agencies—there are currently fifteen—involved in genetic engineering. It should establish liaisons with the several national and supranational groups that are keeping watch over developments in this area. It should meet regularly and issue periodic surveys of the field.

What powers should the commission have? Genetic engineers are afraid of busybodies meddling with their work, but people worried about the possible misuse of this technology are equally afraid of weak regulations or none at all. The commission's decisions should, at a minimum, be binding on institutions that get government money. It would also be desirable if privately funded organizations heeded its word.

Genetic engineering presents technical, ethical and social issues whose variety is unprecedented in science. A Genetic Engineering Commission would offer a rational structure

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for dealing with them. Let us, for once, try to minimize the costs of science while reaping its benefits.

TABITHA M. POWLEDGE

Tabitha M. Powledge, whose book about the social implications of human genetics is to be published by Houghton Mifflin in 1983, is a consultant on genetic engineering to the President's commission on ethical problems in science.

The Santana Case

On December 4, shortly before 4 P.M., New York City firefighters arrived at the Manhattan apartment of 36-year-old political activist Terry Santana to put out a blaze. They discovered Santana's dead body, partially burned, as well as a container of flammable liquid and rags which led in a trail from a front room to the room where the body was found. There were also piles of literature and pamphlets about the revolution in El Salvador, charred but not destroyed.

For the past two years, Santana had been the guiding force behind the El Salvador Information Office (ES Info), a clearinghouse for news about that country and its guerrilla war. ES Info, always a shoestring operation, had fallen on even harder times in recent months. Santana closed the office in September, moved most of the files to her apartment and shortly afterward took a job in the social education division of the United Presbyterian Church.

The New York Times reported that although representatives of the F.B.I.'s antiterrorist task force appeared on the scene soon after the blaze was extinguished, they were "no longer involved in the investigation." Instead—and this has not been reported—members of the F.B.I.'s counterintelligence division visited Santana's apartment two days later and departed with some of her files.

The circumstances of her death remain something of a mystery. Police officials originally told local reporters they were "sure it was suicide." Some of Santana's friends, who have been investigating the case, agree that she could have been a candidate for suicide, and firemen have said that the door to the apartment appeared to be blocked off from the inside when they arrived.

On the other hand, one friend who visited her apartment barely an hour before the fire broke out has said he saw nothing to indicate Santana was depressed. And the preliminary report from the Fire Department describes the death as a "probable homicide." The department report noted the string of rags, which could have been used to set the fire in one room and have it travel to the other, and it indicated the possibility of arson.

The nature of Santana's background raises suspicions that her death might in fact have been a homicide. She had long ago broken with her family, who are part of the staunchly anti-Communist Cuban exile community in Miami. She spent two years as a nun, working with the poor in Ecuador and migrant laborers in Miami. In the mid-1970s she was an investigative journalist, credited with uncovering an important lead implicating a Cuban exile hit squad in the 1976 assassinations of Chilean diplomat Orlando Letelier and aide Ronnie Moffitt. Santana told associates that she dropped her investigative work out of fear that the Cuban exile movement was planning to retaliate. The possibility of surveillance and harassment was a constant worry to her during the two years she spent with ES Info; she intimated that concern to a friend only two weeks before her death.

Given the suspicious circumstances of her death, only one thing can be certain: the Police Department's investigation and report should be anything but routine. If there is any evidence of foul play, appropriate Federal resources should be marshaled to solve the crime and explore its political implications. And if the authorities conclude that Santana's death was a suicide, then they owe it to the public to provide all the facts pertinent to such a conclusion. ANNE NELSON

Anne Nelson writes frequently for The Nation *on Central American affairs.*

Your Own G.N.P.

Would you like to control the world's largest economy? You can, for $35, thanks to a company named Spectravision, which has just introduced a new computer game called Reaganomics. It is designed for sophisticated players who would never let themselves be seen in an arcade playing games like Pac-Man or Asteroids. After all, Pac-Man and Asteroids are make-believe; Reaganomics is based on reality.

In this computer game, you are in charge of America's $3 trillion gross national product. As income and expense charts and graphs flash across your video screen, you have to make complex policy decisions to create a balanced Federal budget. It isn't easy: among the obstacles you have to deal with are a worldwide monetary crisis, a stock market crash and an end to East-West détente.

No doubt the Reaganomics game will be a popular Christmas gift in Washington this year, at least among Democrats. No one is saying if President Reagan will receive the game his policies inspired, but the possibilities are fascinating. Consider the remark a White House aide would be able to make after a close vote on the Hill: "Mr. President, it's not whether you win or lose, but how you play the game."

Reaganomics isn't the only video game on the market inspired by politics and front-page news. There is one called China Syndrome, where the player has to prevent a nuclear accident, and another about political scandal, called Abscam.

Ironically, the company making Reaganomics does not subscribe to the Reagan Administration's "America first" economic policies. The games are manufactured in Hong Kong. Some will say this is proof that you can play Reaganomics, but you can't win with it. JOSH MARTIN

Josh Martin is a New York City-based writer specializing in economics and technology.

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MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

If on December 8, gentle reader, you had been in the gallery that overlooks the Senate, you might have seen Jesse Helms lumber to his feet. He rose to oppose the nominations of Robert Grey Jr. and Richard Burt. Grey was to be appointed deputy director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Burt was to be Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs. Helms said:

"I have about eight or ten hours of material which I wish to discuss and various other senators have indicated that they wish to discuss the matter at some length. I point out to the Senate that, at this moment, Senators Grassley and Symms are tied up in the gas tax hearing, but they have indicated that they will come immediately to this floor in connection with this nomination and at least one other that is on the calendar. The same is true of Senators Jepsen and Denton."

Turning to Majority Leader Howard Baker, and looking him in the eye like an equal, Helms heavily assured him: "That is not a threat. It is just a friendly signal that I send to the Majority Leader. I will accommodate him in any way I can within those parameters."

In this little moment was enacted a demonstration of the power of an almost unknown group. Grandiosely named the Senate Steering Committee, it is in fact a caucus of extreme conservatives who have formed a party within a party and an unofficial arm of the government. The S.S.C. has an office (in Senate premises) but it does not announce its membership. It has a staff, the funding of which is "not a matter which we are prepared to discuss," in the words of spokeswoman Jade West. It has an acknowledged chairman in Jesse Helms, and three vice chairmen in Senators Symms, Armstrong and Hatch. But it refuses to say who the other members are, though it claims there are "about twenty." According to a rare mention in the spring *Congressional Quarterly*, the staff director is one Richard Ribbentrop, once an aide to former Representative Robert Bauman (a man whose career perfectly illustrates the adage that those the gods wish to destroy they first call "promising").

The S.S.C. also has what is vulgarly known as "clout." Faced with Helms's "friendly signal" that day, Howard Baker simply put Robert Grey's long-deferred nomination to one side. This in spite of the strong and continued advocacy of A.C.D.A. director Eugene Rostow. Baker then let Burt be put aside after the most perfunctory fight. He rather ingratiatingly added that Helms "has always been candid and frank with me in his statements and views on nominees and on nominations. I am always deeply grateful for that." Any passing crow might take care not to settle on the shoulder of Senator Baker if it wishes to escape being eaten alive.

Although the S.S.C. was formally inaugurated in 1974, its importance in today's Washington stems from the "Madison Group" and the intellectual refuse of the Reagan transition team. The Madison Group was an eclectic lunch club which in early 1980 met in the Hotel Madison and schemed to bury SALT II in a vastly increased military budget. Its members were chiefly House and Senate staffers, including toilers for Thurmond, Garn, Wallop, McClure, Stone and Kemp, and (worth remembering) Robert Andrews from the office of John Glenn. The convener was John Carbaugh, who had graduated from Strom Thurmond's office to the service of Jesse Helms.

On the whole, the group did well in placing its people and, in the case of Carbaugh, in raising money for their trips and lunches. (Through his Institute of American Relations, Carbaugh harvested a half-million dollars or so.) The group, under his stewardship, also became adept at planting news stories and "executive leaks." One of its members, David Sullivan, was almost too good at this—he lost his C.I.A. job for giving a secret report to Richard Perle (now Assistant Secretary of Defense). He then, in unflatteringly quick succession, worked for Senators Lloyd Bentsen and Gordon Humphrey before coming to rest in the office of Senator Symms.

This choice little group, through the S.S.C., decided to make defeating the nomination of Richard Burt its main target. Burt was a hard-line national security affairs correspondent at *The New York Times* until 1980, in which capacity he caught the eye of Alexander Haig and was hired as director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs. Yet, from Helms to the Moonie rag *Washington Times*, the S.S.C. network is ranged against him. Why?

(1) Burt wrote an article in 1979 "revealing" classified information about a U.S. satellite system. Moreover, he wrote this for *The Times*.

(2) Burt is too conciliatory on matters like the "zero option."

If we take these in order, they wilt like flowers under Helms's breath.

(1) Burt's tenure at *The Times* was punctuated by a series of tough anti-SALT stories. And the only character in this tale to have been fired for leaking is the above-mentioned David Sullivan, now allegedly working for Senator Symms at the Budget Committee but actually wearing himself out at the Senate Steering Committee.

(2) If Burt is soggy on weaponry, he has a funny way of showing it. In an interview with Robert Scheer, he said that "the whole process of SALT, the bilateral character of SALT, is a favor to the Soviet Union."

The S.S.C. also peddles rumors about Burt's private life. This vindictive and shady group is worried in an incoherent way about "the drift" of the Administration and they reach out for an easy kill. In the process, they deny the Senate the right to vote on two crucial nominations, and they defame one of the President's most obsequious and eager servants. Reached by John Lofton, columnist for the Moonie rag, young Burt bleated, "I don't know. I want to be loyal to the White House, to the President." In this fetid atmosphere, the world's most powerful country is allowing a debate *on nuclear policy* to be conducted. And it's allowing it to be influenced by a cabal whose members don't care to admit their funding, their tactics or even their names.

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ARTICLES.

THE LESSONS OF NOVEMBER

The People Hurt Most, Vote Most

ANDREW YOUNG

The November election was an obvious indication that Americans are anxious about the state of the economy and are in search of leaders who can come up with some qualitatively different remedies. It was also a clear statement that when blacks and other minorities, those most affected by the economy, go out and vote with a measure of enthusiasm, they will elect Democrats they think can effect change.

The early, superficial analyses of the election returns have suggested that there is no mandate to abandon the Reagan "course," only a desire to alter it a bit. But a close look at the voting patterns, especially of minorities, shows beyond doubt that those who feel the impact of Reaganomics most were attempting what amounts to a mutiny. In all states with large minority populations—with the strange exception of California—it was their votes, and particularly their surprisingly large turnout, that were decisive.

The importance of voter turnout can be seen by looking at the last midterm election, in 1978, when the results in two states—Texas and Ohio—were generally taken as indications of the nation's shift to the right.

In Texas, the gubernatorial and senatorial races were decided by 16,000 and 12,000 votes respectively; 90,000 black voters in Houston did not bother to vote. Representative Mickey Leland, a popular black Democrat in Houston, had no opposition. Statewide candidates took black and Hispanic voters for granted, and discontent with the Carter Administration was high, so there was little incentive for blacks to go to the polls. In Ohio, former Lieutenant Governor Richard Celeste, the Democratic candidate for governor, lost by only 47,000 votes; more than 60,000 blacks in Cleveland failed to vote.

This year there were Democratic victories in both Texas and Ohio, and it is clear that it was the enthusiasm of black and other minority voters that made the difference—as it did in Wisconsin, Michigan, New York, Georgia and New Jersey. The victory of moderate Republicans in California and Pennsylvania may also have been the result of this large minority turnout.

In Georgia, for example, Democrat Joe Frank Harris beat Republican Bob Bell for the governorship by 56 percent to 44 percent among whites, but what accounted for his landslide was that the state's 200,000 black voters turned out in some precincts at rates of 70 to 85 percent and gave him up to 95 percent of their votes. And in Michigan's Sixth Congressional District, it was the fact that former Representative Bob Carr carried Pontiac, with its politically active black and Hispanic communities, by 79.9 percent that accounted for his being returned to the House with a 52 percent majority.

Even the re-election of George Wallace as Governor of Alabama was the result of significant black support. Not that there was all that much enthusiasm, of course—but in the final analysis, few blacks had difficulty choosing between a racist who says he has changed his ways and a gun-toting racist on the rise.

The message is that it is the constituency most affected by hard times that bothers to vote, and it votes to change its circumstances. But this constituency can also be alienated or disillusioned, as in 1978—which should be a strong message to those now planning for the 1984 elections.

The question is, can any serious Democrat ignore this black constituency? Can a Mondale, Glenn, Hart, Cranston or Rockefeller afford to be seen simply as a Democrat who is against blatant racism but offers no new ideas about the economy or the creation of jobs, who shows no understanding that blacks have earned a place in the Democratic Party? A commitment to economic growth, racial equality and decision-making roles for blacks must be communicated clearly to this important constituency.

The Democratic Party must not only speak out against the failures of the Reagan Administration but come up with positive alternative policies and commitments. It cannot effectively formulate alternatives without involving the con-

DRAWINGS BY BRIAN AJHAR

Andrew Young, the Mayor of Atlanta, was ambassador to the United Nations during the Carter Administration.

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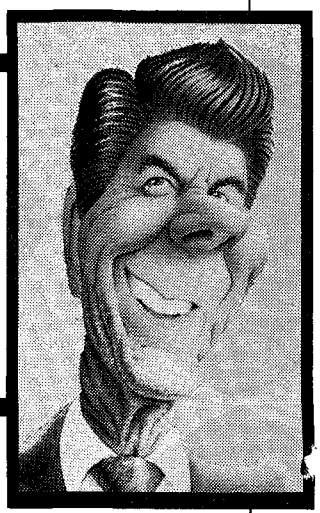
Photo by Carl W. Coleman

In 1977, We Told You Ford Pintos Had A Problem.



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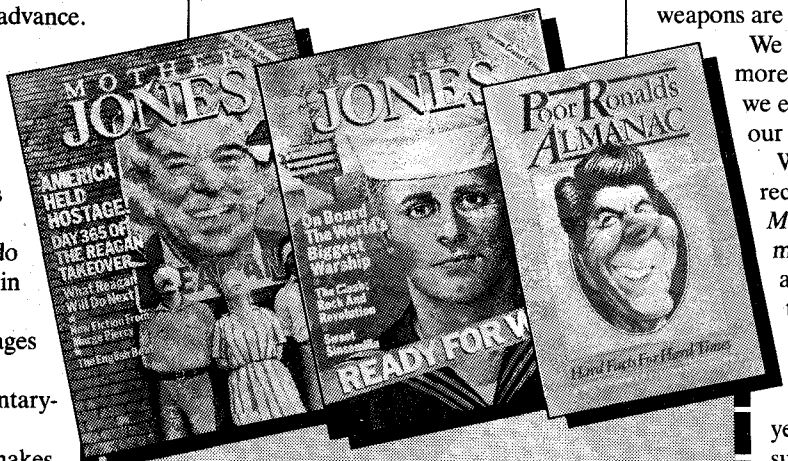

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stituency that is struggling and suffering daily. Policies can no longer be formulated for the black community; they must evolve with it.

When I found myself beating the bushes for Jimmy Carter in late 1975 and early 1976, I was shocked to discover that while he had twenty-six black professionals on his campaign staff, most liberal candidates had only one or were looking for one. No candidate can expect to get full black support without full participation. Blacks now must be involved in all aspects of politics.

Black leaders are looking at international markets and foreign capital and want to be included in discussions about finance and trade, as well as discussions about the size of the military budget and its impact on the domestic economy. The black community—which essentially defined and shaped Carter's Africa policy during his campaign—now realizes that it has a stake in international affairs. Consequently, it wants to be heard on foreign policy, including immigration matters and Caribbean Basin developments.

The black community can be taken for granted, but that would be a mistake: the enthusiasm it exhibits makes all the difference in election results. The message to Democrats: there is no alternative to addressing the root economic ills that severely affect those at the bottom of society, and there are few Democratic victories when those at the bottom are disillusioned.

To win over these voters, it is not going to be sufficient for Democrats merely to tinker with the economy in the next two years. They must focus on the fundamental problems: the lack of growth and the heavy burden of the military budget and the arms race.

The industrialized nations seem incapable of regaining the high rates of growth and low levels of inflation and unemployment they enjoyed in the 1960s and early 1970s. This directly affects the developing countries, which find themselves with no choice but to make painful economic adjustments. Trade and development consequently suffer, and the end result is slow growth and even stagnation.

The immediate limitation and ultimate reduction of nuclear arms is essential to remove the burden these weapons impose on our economic and social conditions. The massive allocation of Federal funds to the military denies vital resources to the civilian sector. According to President Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers, "Growth in the defense program will compete with expanding demands in the private sector." The effects will be to fuel inflation and slow economic recovery by "crowding out" private investment. The huge budget deficits, caused to a large extent by military spending, will help keep interest rates high, thus inhibiting economic growth. A freeze on expenditures for nuclear weapons alone would save $90 billion that could be used for more productive jobs and industrial expansion. That amount could have a substantial impact if spent on housing, mass transit, industrial research and development, schools, roads, job training and the promotion of U.S. exports.

A nation with a crumbling infrastructure, skyrocketing unemployment, increasing poverty and a declining economy can ill afford President Reagan's $1.6 trillion military buildup. The nation's security and strength are defined not solely by military power but also by the vitality of our democratic society and economy. Further development of trade and expansion of the private sector are critical, and will accomplish a great deal more than defense spending for our economic recovery. □

A WEST BANK COVER-UP?

The Case of the Unsolved Bombings

ROBERT I. FRIEDMAN

No single incident has so galvanized Palestinian opposition to Israeli rule as the car-bomb attacks on June 2, 1980, that left Arab Mayors Bassam Shaka of Nablus and Karim Khalef of Ramallah grievously wounded. Now, in the wake of renewed violence in the occupied territories and a growing polarization in Israel over the fate of the West Bank, there are new indications that the investigation of those attacks by Israeli authorities was lax, if not officially obstructed.

Knesset member Shulamit Aloni charged during an interview with me that the government short-circuited its investigation because the suspects are Jewish. Aloni agreed to discuss the case, despite pressure from Prime Minister Begin's office, because Israel's invasion of Lebanon coupled with Begin's annexationist policies on the West Bank have compelled her to go public with her suspicions.

Soon after the attacks on Shaka and Khalef, Aloni received the names of six Jewish suspects from *Davar*'s veteran West Bank correspondent, Danny Rubinstein. The suspects were members of two right-wing movements, Gush Emunim and Rabbi Meir Kahane's Kach Party, and several were yeshiva students at Qiryat Arba and Beit El, predominantly religious West Bank settlements.

Rubinstein was persuaded by Israel's internal security service, the Shin Bet, not to publish his information because that would undermine its investigation. Aloni, however, sent the list in a letter to Prime Minister Begin asking why the suspects hadn't been apprehended. He replied that a thorough investigation was still being conducted.

Aloni thinks not: "We gave them all the names," she says, "but the government never wanted to do anything about it." At a meeting with the officers in charge of the investigation several months ago, she says, the Shin Bet confirmed that Rubinstein's list was accurate. "But the Shin Bet told me that the Jews responsible are part of a close-knit group that has been impenetrable. They told me that they

Robert I. Friedman, a journalist who specializes in the Middle East, has written for a number of publications, including The New York Times, *the* Los Angeles Times *and* Newsday.

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don't have enough evidence to pick up anyone on charges.

"But I know how the Israeli police works," she says. "They never have lacked the means to make Arab terrorists talk. I bet if an Arab killed a Jew on the West Bank, the security service wouldn't wait until it had the evidence to arrest him.

"The mentality of the Prime Minister's office is that it doesn't matter when Arabs are killed. Arab blood is not human blood to Begin. The government would hate to put a Jew into jail for killing a pro-P.L.O. mayor like Shaka."

The most the government has seen fit to do so far—and this comes more than two years after the attacks—is to order the arrests, this October, of two prominent Gush Emunim activists (and residents of Qiryat Arba) for "knowingly destroying evidence" that may have linked Jews to the bombings.

According to the charge sheet, a Jerusalem electrician found a sophisticated Israeli Army booby-trap bomb, similar to those used against the mayors, behind a fuse box in the office of the Qiryat Arba town council, where he had been installing new electric lines. The bomb was wrapped in newspapers dated only days after the attacks. The electrician took the device to Qiryat Arba's security officer, Shalom Rosenthal, who, together with Zeev Friedman, former deputy chairman of the council, allegedly destroyed it. Yehuda Ridder, a former member of the Stern Gang, and Shalom Shimon, Qiryat Arba's security officer at the time of the attacks on Shaka and Khalef, were also detained, but subsequently released.

"These men are part of the conspiracy to kill the mayors," said an Israeli journalist who has followed the case. "But they will never stand trial for the assassination attempt. The Shin Bet says it still doesn't have enough evidence to crack the case. So Friedman and Rosenthal will receive light sentences for tampering with evidence. And that will be that."

Some, including Shulamit Aloni, believe that the government's reluctance to charge anyone with the bombings is an extension of its policy of breaking Palestinian nationalism in the West Bank. This year alone, five Palestinian mayors, including Shaka and Khalef, have been dismissed by the Israelis. What's more, according to *The New York Times*, Israeli military officials have issued a directive that instructs administrators to keep up pressure on "extremist mayors" and neutralize pro-Jordanian Palestinian "moderates."

And of course it would be politically difficult for Begin to jail a Jew for attempting to kill Shaka and Khalef. Most Israelis were indifferent to the mayors' fates after the attacks anyway, and Shaka, especially arrogant in the way he opposed Israeli rule, was generally despised. There was no public outcry or pressure on the government to conduct a full-scale inquiry. The press, for its part, was hampered by censorship and the fear of right-wing retribution. (Some Israeli journalists have said privately that the courageous day-to-day reporting on the Beirut massacre, which made an official inquiry inevitable, was to atone for not pushing for an inquiry into the attacks on the West Bank mayors.)

Moreover, Begin is reluctant to go against the Gush Emunim movement, since it has been the instrument so vigorously carrying out his policy of establishing Jewish settlements, often on illegally expropriated Arab land, in order to retain sovereignty over the West Bank. And, given his background as commander of the Irgun during its days of terrorism against the British, he would presumably find nothing wrong in Gush Emunim's deliberate policy of violence. Shortly after Sadat's epochal journey to Jerusalem in November 1977, I sat in the home of Gush Emunim activist Yisrael Harel as he and his colleagues planned a series of violent demonstrations throughout Israel and the West Bank to protest Sadat's peace initiative. Later that day, at a meeting with the political secretary of the American Embassy, Harel even defied the Begin government and threatened: "There will be a civil war if the government goes ahead with its autonomy plan."

Gush Emunim also boasts that it has enclaves of support high in the ultraright Tehiya Party, which it helped found, in the National Religious Party, where it began as a pressure group in 1973, in the Likud and in military circles. It even has allies in the hawkish wing of the Labor Party: its first settlement was established under the Labor government in the summer of 1974, the day after Yitzak Rabin became Prime Minister. Today in the West Bank there are approximately 30 Gush Emunim settlements, with about 6,000 settlers (out of a total of about 100 Jewish settlements with nearly 30,000 settlers).

For both the government and the settlers, the biggest obstacle to transforming the West Bank into a Biblically rationalized Bantustan was a group of democratically elected, pro-P.L.O. mayors, who together with labor and religious leaders organized a committee to oppose Begin's settlement scheme and the Camp David accords. From the start, Bassam Shaka, its leader, was the object of fierce Israeli condemnation. Maj. Gen. Danny Matt, former military governor of the West Bank and Gaza, called Shaka "the P.L.O.'s commander in the territories." Matt tried to deport Shaka in 1979, but the Israeli high court overturned the order.

Shaka's death warrant probably was signed on May 2, 1980, when Palestinian gunmen shot and killed five Jewish settlers in Hebron. Though the military government didn't move against Shaka then, it immediately deported Hebron Mayor Fahd Kawasmi and Halhoul Mayor Mohammed Milhelm, although they claimed to have no prior knowledge of the attack.

On May 14, *Haaretz* reported that Israeli security officials said there was evidence that Gush Emunim had been planning to conduct terrorist attacks on leading West Bank Arabs. Shaka's name was prominently mentioned. (The paper also revealed that on May 12, Kahane and aide Baruch Green were arrested under the Emergency Powers Act for conspiring to blow up Al Aksa mosque. Kahane had long urged the government to assassinate Arab leaders and drive the Palestinians out of the West Bank.)

On June 2, one month after the Hebron killings and at the

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close of the traditional thirty-day period of Jewish mourning, came the attacks on Shaka and Khalef; Shaka's legs were blown off, Khalef lost a foot. El Bireh Mayor Ibrahim Tawil, who was warned by an army officer to stay away from his car, escaped injury; a grenade rigged to Tawil's garage door blinded an Israeli bomb-disposal expert.

Kach Party spokesman Yosi Dayan announced at a press conference that the bombings were in retaliation for the Hebron murders. (And Kach leader Kahane told me last October the people responsible were "nice Jewish boys.") Yisrael Harel praised the bombings in the Gush Emunim journal *The Point*. Prime Minister Begin denounced them and promised a full investigation.

The night of the attacks, *Haaretz* received a phone call from a man speaking fluent, unaccented Hebrew, who claimed that the Sons of Zion, an unknown terrorist group, was responsible. Another caller told *Maariv* that the attacks were in response to the Hebron killings.

On June 4, *Haaretz*, citing intelligence sources, reported that the suspects were believed to be Jewish extremists who acted in three teams of four and used sophisticated Israeli Army equipment.

In August of that year, *Washington Star* correspondent David Halevy, a reserve officer in the Israeli Army, reported that the chief of the Shin Bet, Avraham Achituv, had resigned because Begin was obstructing the investigation into the car-bomb attacks. Halevy said that Achituv had informed the Prime Minister of a Gush Emunim plan to attack the mayors several months before it occurred. And he reported that after the bombings Begin denied Achituv's requests to arrest suspects, tap phones, intercept mail and infiltrate certain West Bank settlements.

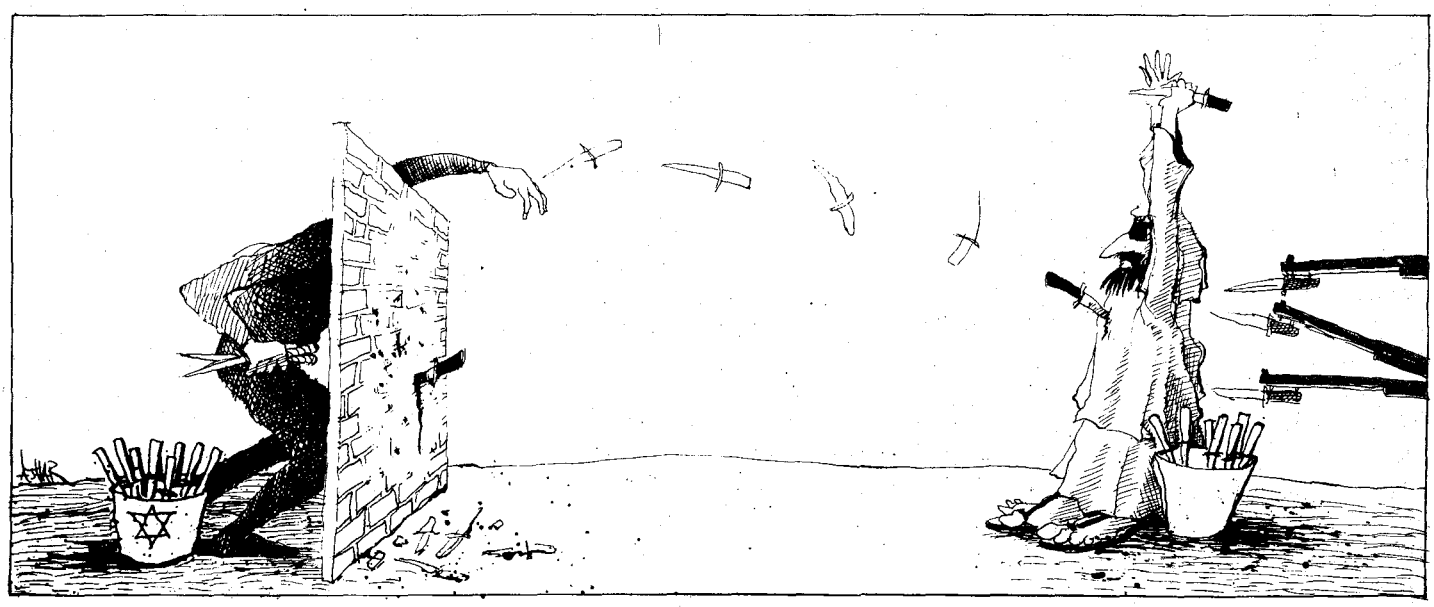
In an unprecedented move, Achituv then went on Israeli Radio to deny Halevy's charges. Several months later, however, he turned up as the head of security for Bank Hapoalim. A former Israeli intelligence agent close to the case said that not only did Achituv resign in protest but so did the Shin Bet's chief of investigations and its chief of operations in the West Bank.

Following Halevy's report, the Shin Bet warned journalists not to meddle in the investigation. From that time on, stories about the affair were routinely censored. At least two Israeli reporters covering the case, Rafik Halaby of Israeli Television and David Richardson of the *Jerusalem Post*, received anonymous death threats.

Despite the murky relationship between government officials and Jewish extremists, few in Israel think the security service or the government plotted with right-wing Jews to assassinate West Bank mayors. Although the Israeli foreign intelligence service, Mossad, has resorted to assassination of its enemies abroad, political murder is not official policy in Israel or the occupied territories. Moreover, in an open society like Israel, it would be all but impossible to cover up a crime that involved the Cabinet, the army and the security services.

It is possible, however, that some Israeli security forces were complicit. A former intelligence officer told me that the ease with which the attacks were carried out indicates more than a little official blindness. The mayors' homes, offices and family members were under constant Israeli surveillance around the time of the bombings, he said. How could the attackers penetrate Israeli security, plant car bombs and make a getaway without official acquiescence?

It is also possible, as most Israeli journalists close to the case believe, that a government official was involved and the Shin Bet was part of a cover-up after it discovered this. "The problem in breaking this case is the possibility that a high-ranking official is somehow involved," says *Davar*'s Danny Rubinstein. He postulates that if such an official wanted Shaka killed, he might contact someone with intelligence training in Gush Emunim or Kach rather than the army or the Shin Bet, which act only on government orders. "Say this official promised the extremist that if his men killed Shaka they'd never get caught," Rubinstein says. "Then, after the attacks, the extremists may have contacted the official and warned him that he would be exposed if there wasn't a cover-up."



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The truth about the West Bank bombings may never be known. Bassam Shaka's lawyer, Felicia Langer, charged in an interview that the evidence already has been destroyed. Shaka told me that he was never even questioned by Israeli authorities. "There was no investigation," he said in Nablus, where he is under house arrest. "How can the government investigate itself?"

Shaka today is a deeply embittered man. He told me that before he lost his legs he favored a Palestinian state and a Jewish state existing side by side. He doesn't say this anymore.

A painting by Palestinian artist Assam Badr hangs prominently in Shaka's living room. Against a gray sky are two jagged legs planted firmly on Palestinian soil. The right leg is nearly twice as high as the left. When viewed together the configuration forms the Arabic word "No!" It is a war cry carved from flesh. □

NEW MILITANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Rising Tide Of Black Unionism

MIRIAM LACOB

The meeting hall at Khotso House, a Johannesburg building which is the headquarters of several black organizations, is stifling. It is packed with at least 600 black workers on strike against a highly profitable South African clothing chain, seeking recognition of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union and a 50 percent pay raise. Workers from all ranks are in the hall: young men in baggy pants and wing tips, university graduates in three-piece suits, fashionable young saleswomen, matrons in headscarves. They are tense and impassive, except when occasionally they burst into a protest song ("God, give us strength, we need it," runs one of the most popular).

Standing at the center of a semicircle, speaking alternately in Sotho and English, shop steward Masilo Mpiti exhorts the workers to stay out and make sure their colleagues do so too. "The bosses told me to go to hell, but if we go to hell, we'll take the bosses with us," he says. "They want to talk to me master-to-servant, but I won't talk until they talk to me man-to-man. All the workers who are not with us can leave Soweto. They can go to Lower Houghton [a wealthy white Johannesburg suburb] and live with the bosses." To this the workers reply, "*Amandla!*" (power).

Power is what they apparently have. The strike lasts five days, ending with a triumphant spontaneous march through the streets after the clothing-chain management agrees to discuss union recognition.

Under South African law, this strike—in April—was illegal. But so were the almost 300 strikes involving blacks in 1981, and so were the stoppages—sometimes five a day—that characterized worker unrest earlier this year. The scene at Khotso House is being repeated with variations almost daily as black South African workers turn in ever-increasing numbers to trade unionism. Union membership is growing. Hard-pressed leaders will make appointments only for weeks in advance. Like the Food and Beverage Workers general secretary, Skakes Sikhakane, they talk of workers "floating around looking for unions."

This is not the first manifestation of black worker militance. There were earlier union movements, some highly politicized and with huge memberships. But, lacking a strong administrative structure, they crumbled under state pressure with the same swiftness with which they rose.

The latest wave is qualitatively different, with several advantages that are likely to insure black unions a permanent place in South Africa. The pressure of labor shortages in recent years has meant that blacks have been allowed into skilled jobs from which they were barred before and that black workers are somewhat more secure in their jobs. A government inquiry into the conditions of black workers, following labor unrest and an upsurge in unionism in the early 1970s, prompted legislation in 1979 that for the first time officially permitted blacks to have unions, albeit under strictly controlled conditions. And—as an important tactic—the new unions have avoided trying for mass membership, concentrating instead on plant-by-plant organizing, which is much more laborious but enables the rank and file to be as schooled in the principles of trade unionism as the leaders are.

The growth of the black union movement is important in itself. But it is even more significant in a wider political context in a country where, as South African labor reporter Steven Friedman puts it, "a major stumbling block towards change is blacks' perception of their own powerlessness." Thus, when blacks have the right to vote only for government-approved leaders and black militance is limited to as yet sporadic guerrilla activity, a disproportionate share of political significance rests on the union movement.

By its very nature, of course, it can serve only some of South Africa's oppressed peoples. Already, one important union leader has said that his organization will place workers' interests before those of a popular political movement. Joe Foster, general secretary of FOSATU—the 100,000-member Federation of South African Trade Unions—said earlier this year that "a workers' organization is necessary to protect and further worker interests and to insure that the popular movement is not hijacked by elements" who will in the end "turn against their worker supporters."

The black unions, representing about 10 percent of the black industrial work force, are embryonic and vulnerable. They face obstacles that range from government efforts to keep them in line to disunity in their own ranks. For the smaller unions the immediate problem, said one union

Miriam Lacob is a South African writer who worked for the World Post *and* Rand Daily Mail *in Johannesburg.*

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leader, is "surviving for another year." For all of them the long-term dilemma is how to be both militant enough to satisfy their members and cautious enough to avoid the long arm of state repression. All sides recognize this as a crucial issue. "It's a bloody minefield," said one well-known labor specialist.

Evidence of factionalism abounds. MWASA—the Media Workers Association of South Africa—has been trying to woo newspaper distributors from the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union. Personnel managers blame some of the recent unrest in automobile plants on a rivalry between a FOSATU union and a smaller breakaway union. A "unity summit" in Johannesburg this year brought together unions representing 150,000 workers, but was notable for the absence of CUSA—the Confederation of Unions of South Africa, the second-largest black union alliance—and of the Transvaal branch of MWASA. CUSA leaders were unwilling to explain their absence, describing it merely as a "misunderstanding," but it has been generally true that unions cool on "unity" are those, like CUSA, with all-black leaderships. FOSATU, which has some white leaders, and several other unions with multiracial administrations are more interested in establishing alliances.

This split reflects a wider debate in South Africa on whether the key to black liberation lies in following a nonracial or a black-consciousness philosophy. Those advocating the latter charge that whites, even with the best of intentions, have a tendency to control any organization they are in. Kalvin Nkabinde, for example, the general secretary of a small engineering workers' union, blamed FOSATU's white leaders when his group was expelled from the federation earlier this year. In letters to the country's principal English-language newspapers he charged that there was discrimination in the union's hiring practices, because "some white academics in FOSATU advocated a salary of $250 a month for FOSATU employees," adequate for affluent whites but not for blacks with limited resources. "We believed that these low salaries were deliberately designed to discourage capable and well-educated blacks from taking an interest in the organization," he wrote.

Another source of factionalism in the movement is disagreement over the extent to which unions should make accommodations with the government. In the legislation permitting blacks to join and form unions, the authorities attempted to ensnare the movement in enough bureaucratic regulations to keep it under control. One was a requirement that unions register with the Department of Manpower, another that they join industrywide bargaining systems run by industrial councils, with representatives from management and labor, which set wage levels for the whole industry. Most black unions are wary of this arrangement because they feel it takes power from the workers, and many, including the most militant, have refused to register. Significantly, these unregistered unions have succeeded in recent years in forcing a series of company managements into recognition agreements: "They found it better to deal with a *representative* union than a legal one," explained one unionist.

Some unions, however, attracted by the advantages of legality, have sought registration, and the pressures to work within the system are strong. Unions that have chosen to do so are those with the largest memberships. These unions—including those in both FOSATU and CUSA—have avoided political challenges, giving priority to increasing wages and gaining recognition. They have also therefore largely avoided state repression.

But they have their critics. Leaders of more militant unions predict that those that cooperate with the government "will be pushed out of business." Black workers, they say, cannot be separated from their environment. "You don't feel the cost of living when you are on duty, you feel it when you are at home," said Joseph Mavi, who was the leader of the Black Municipal Workers Union until his death in a car crash this June.

"The workers are going to get disillusioned with the moderate, 'responsible' unions," said another union leader. "It's the structure that has to be changed, not just getting two rand [about $2] extra a day, or getting a better lunch subsidy."

This leader is at present in detention, pointing up a fact of life in South Africa: the Nationalist government is unlikely to permit any black organization that takes a strong line in opposition to it to survive. Unions that have been most confrontational in the past—refusing to register and participate in industrywide bargaining, taking activist positions on political issues—have borne the brunt of state reaction.

The list of jailed, detained and banned unionists is long. MWASA has had all its most articulate leaders banned and thus barred from both union and professional activities. Three leaders of the militant Motor Assembly and Compo-

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nent Workers Union of South Africa, which has a large representation in the Ford plants, were banned earlier this year. Oscar Mphetha, former general secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers Union, is on trial with a group of youths for the murder of two whites during a riot in 1980. Mphetha, who has been detained since August 1980, is more than 70 years old.

One of the hardest hit "political" unions is SAAWU—the South African Allied Workers Union—at one time the fastest-growing union in the country. It is based in Eastern Cape Province, where South Africa last December established the Ciskei homeland as one of its "independent" client states, conferring an unwelcome "citizenship" on thousands of blacks. SAAWU's vocal opposition to this independence earned the wrath of the Ciskeian authorities, who wish to provide South African industry with a cheap and tame labor force. Union president Thozamile Gqweta has been detained seven times in the Ciskei and in South Africa. He, general secretary Sam Kikine and national organizer Sisa Njikalana recently ended a six-month spell in detention after authorities dropped unspecified Terrorism Act charges against them. Gqweta's mother and uncle were killed in a suspicious house fire last year; his lover was killed in a still-mysterious police shooting incident at the funeral.

Apparently emboldened by state support, some factories have been using the Ciskeian authorities to help bust the union. At one half-organized factory, management fired all the workers and then had the Ciskeian government help recruit others. The deputy president of the Ciskei announced the vacancies; candidates were told to assemble at the offices of the Ciskei Intelligence Services for screening.

This sort of pressure from the state obviously discourages many unionists from overt confrontation. But the simple act of union organizing is itself a form of militance, given the South African context. "Simply organizing a group of black workers in a democratic way in an undemocratic society is a political act," commented one leading trade unionist. Trying to change the wage structure of an economy predicated on the plentiful supply of docile, cheap labor could be similarly construed. Most unions at this point are demanding little more than a living wage.

Most unions, even the more activist, have so far not made any demands that would represent a serious challenge to the state—or the bosses. No union has gone on strike in an attempt to force a larger issue—say, a repeal of the "influx control" laws, which prevent workers from bringing their wives or families to live with them in the cities where they work.

Unionists predict, though, that the day will come when workers will be able to put enough pressure on industry so that the corporations, which at the moment are happy to make use of the system of apartheid, will feel the need in turn to pressure the government for change. They point out that much of the present labor unrest is just a symptom of a deeper anger that is really directed against the political system. "Managements are trying to solve the problems on the shop floor," one union leader said, "but one day they will have to realize that there are problems there the company can't handle. Then they'll have to go and start challenging the government." □

'Risk' Business

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

the bell for help we get it," Shellow says. "These are people not readily visible to the outside. Some of our network are still in government posts and some have just left. You try to get seasoned, mature judgments. We pay well and we pay fast. That keeps them loyal and vigilant."

IMAR is just one of roughly two dozen companies employing former high-level officials to ply the political risk trade for scores of Fortune 500 corporations increasingly jittery about their overseas investments and operations and the safety of their overseas personnel. Among the more prominent advisers in the field are former Directors of Central Intelligence William Colby, at International Business-Government Counsellors Inc., and Richard Helms, at a one-man firm called Safeer (the Persian word for "ambassador"—Helms was also U.S. Ambassador to Iran); Henry Kissinger, who recently launched Kissinger Associates; and Ray Cline, former deputy director of intelligence at the C.I.A., who is a risk analyst for a number of large defense contractors.

Quite a few general consulting firms—including Frost and Sullivan and Business International—also do risk analysis these days. And the trade even has its own training school: the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., offers several courses in political risk, taught by people with backgrounds in intelligence work. Tom Reckford, who served with the C.I.A. for six years and now works for InterMatrix, a risk analysis firm, teaches a course there, and the associate dean, Alan Goodman, was the top aide to Adm. Stansfield Turner at the C.I.A.

Plainly, the risk business is booming. For fees ranging from a few thousand dollars to as much as $250,000, risk analysts provide briefings, reports, seminars and detailed scenarios for action, all designed to calm corporate nerves and aid corporate planning for overseas investment. Even at those prices, there is no shortage of takers. As Jan Dauman, the head of InterMatrix, told a recent conference on "Business Tactics in a Dangerous World," "The crucial point is that the market for these services has not even started to settle down."

The business of risk analysis has emerged in response to changes that have occurred over the last few decades in the international economy. The rapid jump in U.S. foreign investment from about $10 billion in 1950 to more than $200 billion today has been one obvious spur. There has also

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been the strong challenge to U.S. dominance from Japanese and European companies as well as from firms in Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea. In 1963, two thirds of the world's 100 largest industrial corporations were American; by 1979 less than half were. In addition, the top 100 U.S. multinational corporations have been losing ground steadily to their 100 largest foreign competitors in aggregate sales. Little wonder that American executives have adopted a kind of siege mentality about their foreign dealings.

The political turmoil of the last few years has also made executives fearful. Many U.S. companies lost millions of dollars in Iran. Investments in many Central and Latin American countries are shaky, and bank loans to Mexico, Brazil and Argentina are particularly imperiled. Left-wing or merely nationalist governments which have come to power in a number of Third World countries have insisted on tougher terms for U.S. investments, and some now require 51 percent ownership for local firms in any joint venture with outside businesses.

In response to such pressures, many large U.S. corporations have recently established in-house political risk departments. A 1980 Conference Board survey revealed that about two thirds of American companies with more than 25 percent of their sales abroad have done so, as have 65 percent of those with operations in more than twenty countries. In 1980 a trade group called the Association of Political Risk Analysts was launched, and it now has more than 370 corporate members, most of which are in the Fortune 500. (Gordon Rayfield, a General Motors risk analyst, is its current head.) Siegfried Marks, chief economist for Esso Inter America, says it is important that companies use their own resources and information: "It's difficult for an outside consultant to help us because of the complexity of the oil business."

Nonetheless, many companies worried about the safety of their overseas investments have turned to the outside firms run by former intelligence officers and government officials. A look at several of them provides a picture of the nature of this unusual new profession.

IMAR is reasonably typical of the breed. When it was founded in 1978 it was primarily concerned with "executive security," and its business was built around Brooks McClure, who had developed a hostage-recovery program for the Commerce Department. Now it has branched out into all manner of corporate political work.

IMAR divides its services into "information" and "operations." For the former, it boasts of a unique library containing more than 100,000 items on political, social and economic questions and a special section with 10,000 entries on political violence and terrorism, making it the most "comprehensive and up-to-date file in private hands." As to operations, IMAR says it provides "standby services to be drawn upon by multinationals in emergencies." It will "conduct on-site surveys of both domestic and foreign installations (covering plant, personnel and operating procedures) to determine their vulnerability to politically inspired violence" and can prepare "evacuation plans when appropriate." IMAR will also provide security training to executives before they go abroad.

According to Robert Shellow, one of IMAR's evacuation studies was done for several American companies worried about violence in Jamaica when Michael Manley was Prime Minister. IMAR sent a man down to investigate. "We looked at the topographical situation," Shellow says, and "discovered that the prime escape routes to the airport went right through the poorest areas of Kingston"—where there would likely be the greatest danger in case of trouble. Shellow won't say what IMAR proposed and turns aside questions with a joke: "We just recommended good old American ingenuity—crawl on your belly." He does admit the plan was never employed.

McClure, head of operations at IMAR, says the company has expanded into all areas of economic instability, including joint-venture risks. In the last year he has done studies on Egypt, Lebanon, Pakistan, Korea, Indonesia and the Philippines for his clients. "We check out the joint-venture partners for firms abroad. Most companies don't want to go probing around, but we can do that."

Ackerman and Palumbo is another firm that relies heavily on C.I.A. graduates. E.C. (Mike) Ackerman served in the C.I.A.'s clandestine services for eleven years before resigning in 1975—as he says, "to protest the sensation-seeking Congressional investigation of the agency and to plead for the preservation of an American intelligence capability." His partner, Louis Palumbo, spent twenty-two years as a C.I.A. security officer specializing in the protection of overseas agents; he boasts of having "originated much of the defensive methodology now employed throughout government and industry."

Based in Miami Beach, the firm has about 100 clients, most of which are in the Fortune 500. The company charges

When Henry Kissinger left the government he quickly found that his services were much in demand by leading multinational corporations. In the last few years he has done quite well as a part-time risk consultant for Chase Manhattan Bank, where he serves as chairman of its international advisory committee, and as an adviser to Goldman Sachs. He is also a member of the Merck drug company's European advisory committee, set up in 1971 to "provide perspective on the company's broad strategic plans for growth in Europe."

Now Kissinger seems to be hunting for bigger game. In September he announced that he was establishing Kissinger Associates to do risk analysis for a select group of multinational corporations at $250,000 each. Although he has not yet revealed any of his clients, he did disclose that a former colleague of his at the National Security Council, Lieut. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, would be working with him. Kissinger's foray into risk analysis has prompted mixed reactions, especially given the price he is charging. "I think a great deal of what Kissinger's doing," says Ray Cline, "is hot air."

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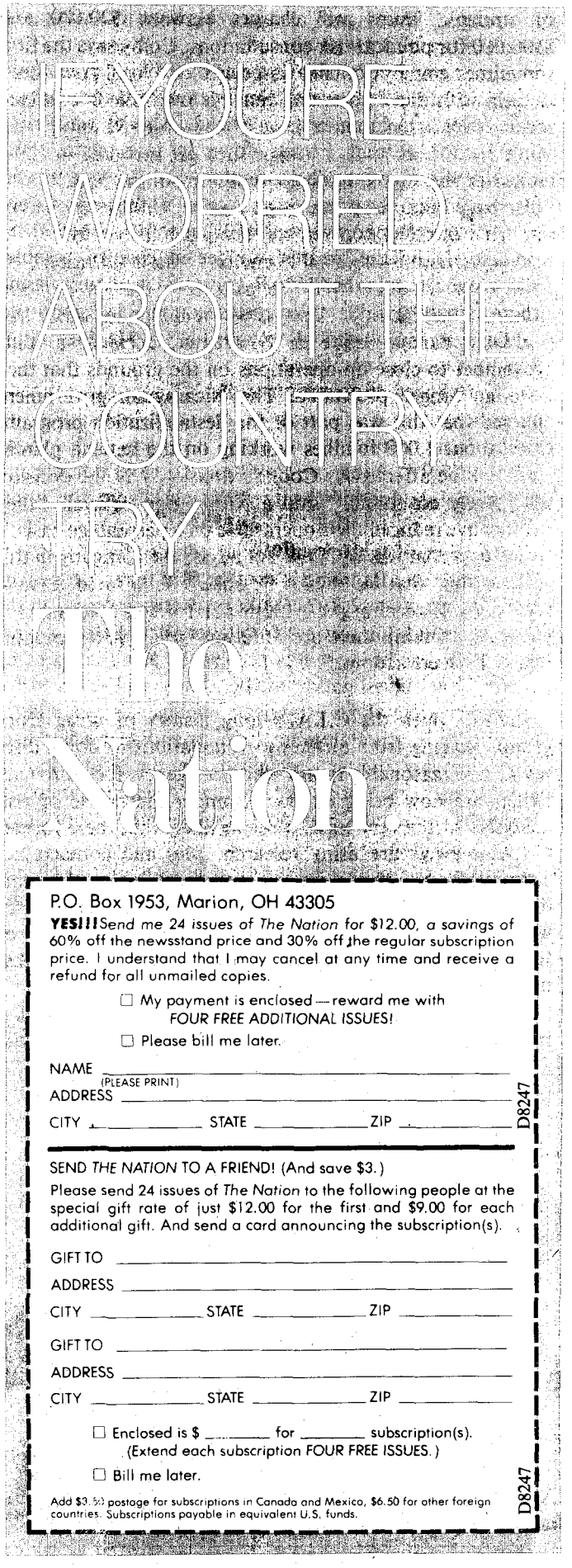

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them each roughly $3,000 for reports covering forty-two countries published twice a year. But the major focus of its work is not information but "protection services." "We're basically security consultants protecting corporate personnel overseas," says Ackerman.

Among the firm's specialties is a program in defensive driving, which gives executives an "in-depth briefing on the conceptual basis for defensive driving methodology" and "hands-on exercises." Executives can also receive training in "surveillance recognition" so they know when they are being followed, and, when traveling abroad, can avail themselves of Ackerman and Palumbo's "security escorts." If they are kidnapped, the company will help in "hostage recoveries. . . . We propose strategies, interface with local law enforcement authorities, handle negotiations, protect and even deliver ransom funds." Ackerman says the company has also worked on evacuation plans for many corporations all over the world. In 1979 it helped evacuate a company during Somoza's final days in Nicaragua, which proved to be a relatively easy job: "It wasn't that bloody, the regime just fell apart," he says.

"I'm trying to sell my knowledge of the political environment in foreign countries," says Ray Cline, a twenty-two-year veteran of the C.I.A. Cline claims he gives some of his advice free to old friends, but for his five or six full-time clients his charges vary depending on the project. In Cline's view there is a worldwide "resource war" going on which has shaken corporate confidence and made many executives look more carefully at their investments. "The competitive economic situation," he says, "coupled with the slowdown in growth, has made people more conscious of risk and more calculating. There are a lot more ways to go broke. American companies have to compete with Japan, Germany, Taiwan and Korea."

A former C.I.A. station chief in Taiwan, Cline has become a leading light in the China Lobby and runs a pro-Taiwan group called the Committee for a Free China. He allows that he knows the Far East and Taiwan "like the back of my hand," and says he has worked in the area for several clients, including one U.S. company that wanted to get into the oil-drilling business off the mainland. Another interest of his is the Caribbean, and since the defeat of Manley he has been touting Jamaica as a good investment opportunity. "Eddie Seaga [now Prime Minister] is a friend of mine. They're more pro-business and they're more encouraging to tourism." Cline also tells of helping a Chicago company that wanted to sell arms to Turkey by providing it with a contact "who knows the Turkish military situation well" and who acted as an intermediary.

Counterterrorism is another of Cline's specialties and some of his consulting is done in conjunction with Yonah Alexander, the editor of a magazine called *Terrorism, an International Journal* and, like Cline, a teacher at Georgetown's Center for Strategic and International Studies. "I emphasize they [companies] should look closely at kidnapping and terrorism," Cline says. "Most corporations are not interested in the philosophy and psychology of ter-

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rorism, but in gadgets." He claims that he doesn't use gadgets but instead focuses on the nature of terrorist groups and where they thrive. "Intelligence people are very good at this. They have good analytical minds," he says. "What businessmen call political risk analysis is what I've been doing all my life."

William Colby takes the same line. "If you're going for a stroll in the jungles of Latin America," he says, "it's good to have a local guide." Today, Colby spends about 25 percent of his time acting as a "local guide" in his capacity as senior adviser, political assessment and risk division, for International Business-Government Counsellors Inc. The jungles he's helping his clients traverse are usually ones created by Latin American governments seeking better terms of trade with U.S. corporations, a job which requires a combination of arm-twisting and finesse.

Colby and company have lobbied for passage of Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative, which will provide tax incentives to companies investing in the region. "Anyone who wants to take advantage of the program," he says, "will want to know which are the best countries to put their money into, who to talk to and how to approach them." One of I.B.G.C.'s strategies was to hire Sally Shelton, a former Ambassador to Barbados and nine other Caribbean nations. "Shelton knows people in every country," Colby crows, "and can get in to see them."

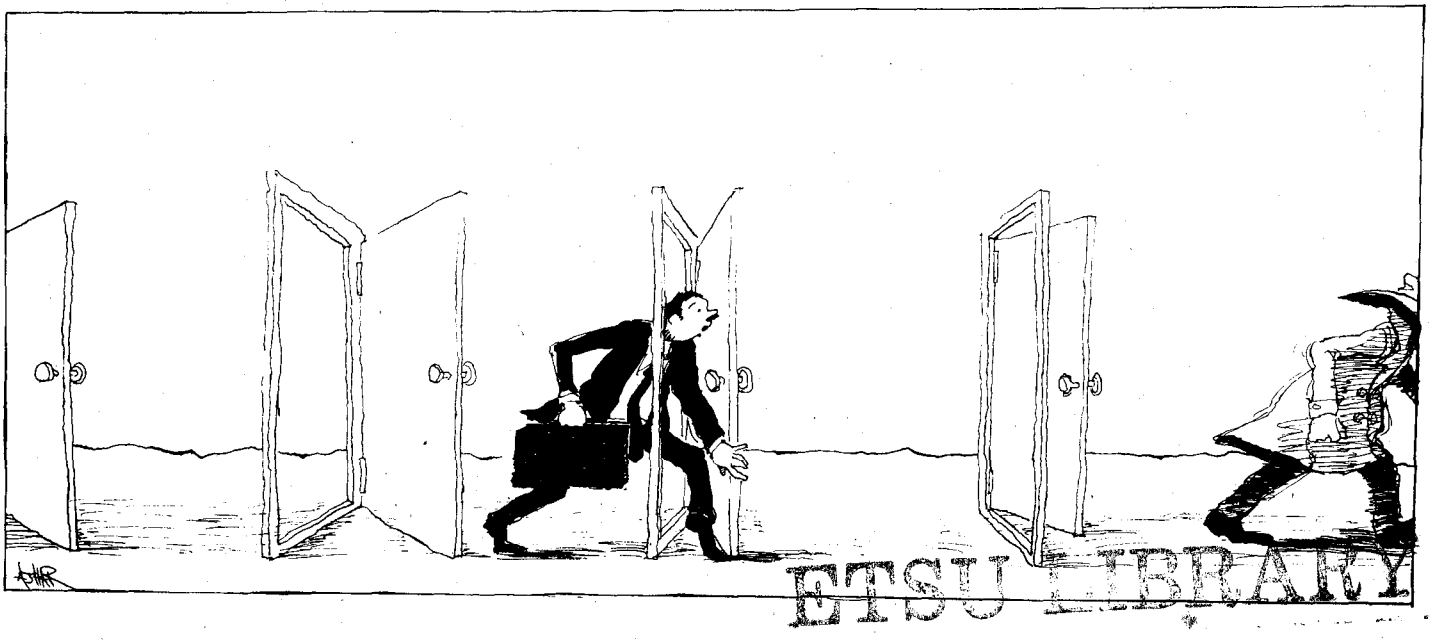
Colby says his own work has included studies of Mexico, Panama, France, the Far East, the Middle East and Central America. "It's the politics of economics and the economics of politics," he explains. "Private intelligence has been around for a long time, but now middling firms that weren't as concerned with politics have become more interested. They see the impact of faraway developments increasing." Even seemingly stable countries like Canada have become troublesome to American multinationals: "Nationalization in Canada," Colby says, "is a real problem for American companies, who feel they may be squeezed out."

I.B.G.C. advises its clients—including Exxon, Bechtel, Mobil, INCO and many other familiar names—on a range of strategic issues and charges between $20,000 and $100,000 for political risk consultations. Colby says the firm sometimes employs outside associates or "local resources" to help with the reports and that his own role is confined mostly to Washington: "I have a pretty high visibility, so I don't travel too much. I might not get involved in some countries because of my high profile from the past."

Perhaps because of that high profile, Colby says he has not been directly involved in Nicaragua. Nevertheless, he has spoken out in favor of America's "destabilization" efforts there, claiming that "helping your friends isn't immoral." One I.B.G.C. client, Castle and Cooke, which had a sizable banana trade in Nicaragua, decided in mid-November to close up operations on the grounds that they were no longer profitable. The Nicaraguan government charged that this was part of the destabilization program, since about 4,000 families working on the banana plantations will be affected by Cooke's decision. "If the decision was purely economic," said a Nicaraguan official, "they would have reduced their operations on a percentage basis." Colby says that I.B.G.C. did not advise the company in this instance but that he thinks "Cooke was wise to leave—Nicaragua is turning pretty sour for foreign investment." He adds, "I think there are situations where you shouldn't rule out covert actions."

Indeed, given the C.I.A.'s long history of using front groups ranging from airlines to foundations to do its dirty work, it is reasonable to ask whether agency-sponsored activities are now being conducted under the rubric of risk analysis. At the very least, it seems likely that these former C.I.A. bigwigs are using research, files and contacts accumulated while they were in government service. It seems highly probable too that most of them still maintain ties to what they often fondly call "the old-boy network" of former agents, and this could well form the basis of the new networks of which many risk experts speak.

Whether risk consultants are actually provocateurs is a subject that needs investigation. Despite the academic



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rhetoric in which they cloak their analyses, Colby, Cline, Helms, Kissinger and company are clearly not Boy Scouts when it comes to clandestine operations. Colby was the architect of the Phoenix program in Vietnam; Cline spent many hours in Taiwan creating schemes to infiltrate the mainland with intelligence agents; Kissinger and Helms were deeply involved in the C.I.A.'s overthrow of Allende.

In any case, the changed circumstances that U.S. multinational companies face—and the paranoia that they now feel—could make them ripe for "dirty tricks." As a colleague of Colby's at I.B.G.C. explained it, there are larger forces at work that can tempt corporations into overseas mischief. "As the U.S. economy goes into the doldrums," said William Averyt, "more and more companies are looking abroad. The international field has higher risks and higher profits." □

ALL IN THE FAMILY

A.C.L.U. and Unions

GEORGE SLAFF

From time to time issues arise that are of intense interest to a fairly limited number of our readers but contain the seeds of some larger principle or concern. For readers who would like a forum to present such issues, The Nation *is inaugurating this department, which will appear occasionally. Submissions should be limited to 750 words.* —*The Editors*

From its inception more than sixty years ago the American Civil Liberties Union has recognized not merely that civil liberties are inextricably intertwined with the rights of workers—particularly the rights to organize, to bargain collectively, to strike, to picket, to assemble and to speak freely—but that it is labor's struggles which are the testing ground for those rights.

From its first free-speech fight in 1920 in cooperation with the Amalgamated Textile Workers to its support of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union boycott of J.P. Stevens in the 1970s, the national board of the A.C.L.U. has been in the forefront of those defending the rights of unions and union members.

Yet at its national board meeting last fall the A.C.L.U. refused to debate or vote on a proposed resolution that read simply, "Unless there are countervailing civil liberties considerations in individual instances, the American Civil Liberties Union will deal with unionized suppliers of goods and services where available." The resolution had been tabled by a vote of 40 to 17 at the previous board meeting, and at this meeting the board voted 41 to 30 not to reconsider it.

So the A.C.L.U.'s directors, of all people, have now adopted not an "antiunion" position but one which in effect states that they do not consider the union movement worthy of their practical support as expressed by the dollars they spend for goods and services.

This is shocking to those who are aware of how much battles in the labor movement for the right to organize have meant to the advancement of the rights of free speech, free press, due process and equal protection, to the Fourth and Fifth Amendments and to virtually all areas of A.C.L.U. concern.

Various arguments were offered by opponents of the resolution: that many unions are not democratic, are not what they were in the 1930s and 1940s, and have become conservative or reactionary; that they discriminate against minorities; that they represent only 20 percent of the working population; and finally, most shamefully, that the A.C.L.U. should not buy union goods or services if nonunion ones cost less. These are mostly true, but they overlook the basic fact that every significant gain of the working people of the United States in all its history, down to this very day, has been due to the union movement, union organizing and union functioning.

No one suggested to the A.C.L.U. board—or suggests now—that unions are paragons of virtue or that unionists are not subject to all the ills that human flesh is heir to. But it was pointed out over and over again that the A.C.L.U.'s roots were in the American labor movement, that it had fought shoulder to shoulder with unions over the years to defend and preserve the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and that the least expression of support the A.C.L.U. could give to that movement was to "buy union."

For the A.C.L.U. to have forsworn the union bug which graced its stationery and publications through the late 1960s, and now to refuse to proclaim its meaningful support of unions by using their products, is to degrade the memory of its founders and to ignore what is almost standard operating procedure for most progressive organizations in the country. What a shame!

However wrong and short-sighted this action may be, it should not diminish individual or organizational support of the A.C.L.U., for the organization continues to be foremost in zealously protecting the constitutional rights of all people in this nation. It should, however, call forth strong protests to the A.C.L.U. from its friends and supporters who recognize the significance of the American trade union movement in the never-ending struggle to advance civil liberties. If the voices are strong enough, it should not take long to get the A.C.L.U. national board back on the track.

George Slaff is of counsel to the law firm of Slaff, Mosk and Rudman in Los Angeles and was a member of the A.C.L.U. national board from 1965 to 1981.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Year's Illustrated Books

DORE ASHTON

A house in the country is not a country house, said Gertrude Stein. Similarly, a book about art is not an art book. Art books range from picture albums for the conspicuously consumptive to objets d'art for connoisseurs. Books about art range from the scholarly to the popular. Following is an abbreviated account of books of merit in both categories published in 1982.

A good many of the best books concern the origins and evolution of modern art. Prime among these is *Cubists and Cubism* (Skira/Rizzoli, $65) by Pierre Daix, Picasso's most assiduous senior scholar. Daix offers an invaluable and splendidly illustrated chronicle of the movement, which he believes revolutionized the syntax of visual art. He reassesses the roles of Cézanne, Braque and Derain and highlights contributions to Cubism from outside France—particularly from Czechoslovakia, where the sculptor Otto Guttfreund produced some of the movement's most intelligible works. Daix's provocative arguments go beyond the usual art-historical boundaries, as when he asserts, "It must not be forgotten that Cubism had its phantasm. Just as behind Fauvism there lurked the phantasm of primitivism, of a source of pure forms unsullied by the arts, so behind Cubism lurked the phantasm of science."

Cubism was the major source of the movement called *de Stijl*, whose best-known proponent, Piet Mondrian, was directly inspired by Picasso. However, as the twelve authors whose essays make up *De Stijl, 1917-1931: Visions of Utopia* (Abbeville Press, $39.95, paper $24.95) stress, it was both a metaphysical and a visual revolution. This philosophical dimension, according to Hans L.C. Jaffé's introduction, lay behind the diversified activities of *de Stijl*'s adherents, who were architects, designers, typographers, poets and musicians as well as painters. The book is well illustrated, often with previously unpublished material, and except for an inaccurate essay on *de Stijl* and the Russian Revolution, provides a rich survey of such major figures as Bart van der Leck, Theo van Doesburg, Gerrit Rietveld, J.J.P. Oud and, of course, Mondrian.

Another collaborative book of exceptional interest is *Berlin 1910-1933* (Rizzoli, $50 until December 31, $60 thereafter). Edited by Eberhard Roters, director of the Berlinische Galerie, it illuminates Berlin's architecture, painting, sculpture, cinema and theater through some 300 illustrations, many indispensable to scholars. Roters sees Berlin as the crossroads of vanguard Russia and progressive Europe, and argues that "montage" was the city's specific contribution. His own essay on Berlin's several vigorously contending styles of painting is a model of intelligent research, while Arno Paul's discussion of the incredible theatrical activity in the Weimar years (there were about 100 newspapers publishing theater criticism every day) is the best survey of the material available, and his lively analysis is pertinent to all the arts of the period. Paul brings his subject alive through the judicious use of quotes, like this one from Herbert Jhering's 1919 review of Ernst Toller's "Transfiguration": "Words clustered together rhythmically and fell apart. Screams broke out and died away. Movements pushed forwards and back. It was more concentration and momentum than psychology and development, more punctuation than description."

The importance of Berlin as a point of diffusion for the views of pre- and post-revolutionary Russian artists is confirmed in Larissa A. Zhadova's *Malevich: Suprematism and Revolution in Russian Art, 1910-1930* (Thames and Hudson, $45). Malevich was honored in 1922 and 1927 in large Berlin exhibitions ("Fame rains down upon me!" he wrote in an ecstatic letter to the painter-composer Matyushin). His letters, along with an impressive body of anecdotes and documents mined from Soviet archives, make this book the most authoritative yet published on Malevich's varied career, first as a painter and later as a teacher. Zhadova correctly sees Malevich as both a concentrated, solitary artist and as a protagonist in the collective drama of the Russian Revolution as it connected with the artistic revolution of the pre-World War I era. Along the way, Zhadova also documents the lives and works of a dozen other significant artists, making her well-illustrated book unusually helpful to students of the period.

De Chirico (Museum of Modern Art, $35, paper $14.95), a collective work that served as a Museum of Modern Art catalogue, is the most searching text to date about the elusive artist and his circle. Edited by William Rubin, the book brings together essays by an international panel of scholars, among them Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, whose discussion of de Chirico's Paris years (1911 to 1915) not only supersedes previous evaluations but presents a host of observations about the artist's spiritual and intellectual development—his dependence on Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, his relationship with Apollinaire and Picabia, his interest in Greek mythology and so on. Rubin offers one of the most interesting essays, weighing de Chirico's claim that he was a classicist against the works themselves. Rubin persuasively argues that de Chirico was more aware of and receptive to modernist principles than he admitted in his many wily pronunciamentos.

Henri Rousseau's astonishing paintings, taken absolutely seriously by Picasso and his friends, are the source of Yann le Pichon's *The World of Henri Rousseau* (Viking Studio, $75), a strange and wonderful book—a perfect art book as well as a book about art. The author, a pupil of Rousseau's granddaughter, has some of the innocence and whimsy of the Grand Naïf himself. He includes anecdotes, commentaries and interviews, as well as reproductions of postcards, picture albums and other presumed sources of Rousseau's inspiration. The book, which reproduces practically all of Rousseau's *oeuvre*, is satisfying both as a curiosity and as a source of information and opinion about the painter Alfred Jarry called "*le visité*."

Rousseau's exact contemporary, Claude Monet, is seen by Paul Hayes Tucker in a specific context in *Monet At Argenteuil* (Yale University Press, $29.95). Tucker discusses Monet's artistic evolution during the years he worked at Argenteuil (1871-78) in terms

Dore Ashton's most recent book is American Art Since 1945 *(Oxford University Press).*

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of conflicting impulses. Monet settled in a suburb that still offered many rural pleasures, but where the Industrial Revolution was already well under way. Captive of the myth of progress on the one hand, and of his deep need to flee urban blight on the other, Monet gradually and significantly altered his style. Tucker's socioeconomic account of changing Argenteuil is consistently interesting; it sheds light not only on the paintings Monet did there but also on the prodigious works of his last years, when he definitively rejected the myth of progress.

Monet figures along with dozens of other painters in Horst Keller's *Watercolors and Drawings of the French Impressionists* (Harry N. Abrams, $60). The merit of this picture album lies in its quality color reproductions and in its unusual selection of works, many of which have never been published before.

The painterly tradition of an earlier epoch is honored in David Rosand's *Painting in Cinquecento Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto* (Yale University Press, $50), a scholarly book that is unusually accessible to general readers. Rosand's approach is intelligent, rounded, fresh. He describes the complicated esthetic differences between Florentine and Venetian theoreticians—the old argument between the painterly and the draftsmanlike approach to art—and claims that the great painters he discusses transcended the narrow boundaries of these theories. He gives a lot of detail, both iconographical and biographical, but never loses sight of the importance of sensitive interpretation.

There is almost no interpretation in Seymour Slive's *Jacob van Ruisdael* (Abbeville Press, $39.95), which is essentially a catalogue of the first full-scale exhibition ever held of this remarkable seventeenth-century landscape painter. Ruisdael's genius, however, receives full respect in Slive's meticulous and extensive notes to each painting and in his informative introduction. If profound insights are rarely found in catalogues, we nonetheless are fortunate to have this one, since this rare painter of the dialectic of light and shadow has yet to find his interpretive commentator.

Jewish Life in the Middle Ages by Thérèse and Mendel Metzger (Alpine Fine Arts Collection, $85) is both a lavishly produced art book and a demonstration of the usefulness of art to the historian. The authors, who spent five years examining every known Jewish illuminated manuscript, have written a history of manners and spiritual life entirely from visual cues. The pictorial evidence led them to the conclusion that "far from revealing a group isolated in an unshakeable singularity (which would explain why the larger encompassing society rejected it), these pictures, seen from the point of view of everyday life, present us with a community of men who, as far as material civilization . . . was concerned, appear totally integrated into the environment."

Another book that combines beauty of design with important scholarly research is *The Icon* (Alfred A. Knopf, $60), by a team of seven scholars led by the distinguished Byzantine scholar Kurt Weitzmann. Of particular interest are a number of hitherto unstudied works from the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai desert, and a lively chapter on Russian icons by Mihail Alpatov, who brightens his text with Gogol's commentary on the genre: "They have no inordinate rapturousness or exaltation, but are dominated by a calm force. . . . It is an unusual lyricism born of supreme sobriety of mind."

Turning to photography, I find that *Walker Evans at Work* (Harper & Row, $18.95) is the most original of this year's crop of monographs. Best known for his stark photographs of the Great Depression, Evans was an artist of far broader scope—and this book proves it. In some 700 photographs, annotated by Jerry L. Thompson with excerpts from Evans's letters and memoirs, the personality and esthetic of the man are firmly drawn. Although he worked often in the documentary idiom, Evans knew he was seeking "purity and a certain severity, rigor, simplicity," and thought of himself in relation to Goya and Daumier. He was his own best critic: "I think I incorporated Flaubert's method almost unconsciously," he said, "but anyway I used it in two ways; both his realism, or naturalism, and his objectivity of treatment. The nonappearance of the author. The nonsubjectivity."

Books whose beauty as objects exceeds practical concerns are rare these days. Fortunately, a few intrepid publishers are still willing to go beyond the utilitarian. A surprisingly modest price has been affixed to Barry Moser's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (University of California Press, $19.95 until January 1, $24.95 thereafter). This is a replica of Moser's Pennyroyal Edition, which was intended for collectors. Lewis Carroll's key work is introduced and annotated by the Victorian scholar James Kincaid, who speculates engagingly on Carroll's attitude toward little girls, the English language and a host of other matters. Moser provides wood-engraved illustrations and a typographically apposite four-color design.

Doré's Illustrations for Don Quixote (Dover Publications, $6) is well printed and aimed at a mass market. Doré traveled extensively in Spain, where he carefully noted the terrain so explicitly described by Cervantes. This book includes all 120 plates from the 1869 edition, along with seventy of the headpieces and tailpieces, providing a visual narrative that corresponds to the high points of the book.

Magazine illustration is honored by Roy T. Matthews and Peter Mellini in *In 'Vanity Fair'* (University of California Press, $45 until January 1, $55 thereafter). The authors have reproduced more than 150 caricatures from the British weekly, adding extensive commentary that amounts to a social and political history of the Victorian and Edwardian eras. To the barbs of "Ape" and "Spy," the two mainstays of the illustrators' list, are added the splendid caricatures of Max Beerbohm and other occasional contributors. The authors analyze the artistic tradition of caricature and its impact on public affairs, and they also discuss the inevitable decline of the kind of upper-class journalism *Vanity Fair* represented.

The laurels this year for a book that is in every sense a connoisseur's delight go to Gordon Ray, whose two-volume *The Art of the French Illustrated Book, 1700 to 1914* (The Morgan Library and Cornell, $185) can be savored for both its erudition and the quality and quantity of its illustrations (the author is perhaps the world's leading collector of French illustrated books, and many of the works represented are from his own collection). The inquisitive reader will learn about not only the techniques employed by artists in many periods when book illustration flourished but also the circumstances, esthetic and sociological, under which illustrators labored, whether professionals like Doré and Daumier or nonprofessionals like Fragonard and Picasso. Great works of literature and great illustrations fused more often in France than anywhere else, and Ray offers rich, analytic and frequently witty commentary. □

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Our Christmas Lists

KATHA POLLITT

The year before last, my inamorato gave me a wooden briefcase for Christmas—that's right, a wooden briefcase—and I gave him an electric popcorn popper. It took months before we sheepishly admitted that we had absolutely hated our presents from the minute we opened them. The next year, I gave him Howard Moss's anthology of poems about New York City, and he gave me Walter Jackson Bate's biography of Samuel Johnson—a financially more modest but also much happier exchange. The moral: This Christmas, forget the musical toothbrush, the sequined necktie and the red satin pillow shaped like a pair of lips—just give books and your friends will be thrilled and delighted.

The book I'm giving this year is *Imaginary Crimes*, by Sheila Ballantyne (The Viking Press, $13.95). I can't think of another recent novel that recaptures so precisely how it feels to be a child watching one's parents act out their mysterious and often frightening adult dramas. Ballantyne's heroine, Sonya Weiler, watches her dreamy, movie-struck, ineffectual mother, Valery, wilt and lose heart in their tiny, unheated basement apartment in the Seattle slums while Ray Weiler works on the Big Deal that will make them all millionaires—someday. After Valery's death, we see Ray for what he is—a con artist who manipulates poor people into sinking their paltry savings into nonexistent mining ventures, an alcoholic prone to hysterical rages, but who all the same is capable of moments of puzzling tenderness. Ballantyne sees the pathos in Ray's fantastic schemes, and even the touch of poetry. But she sees the damage, too. Told as a mosaic of short vignettes, each one as sharp and clear as a shard of glass, *Imaginary Crimes* is the only new book I read this year that I already want to read again.

ELENA BRUNET

My favorite books this year were both literary debuts, and successfully combine humor with more serious issues—madness, and growing up in poverty and an alien culture.

SOUNDING THE TERRITORY. *By Laurel Goldman. Alfred A. Knopf. $13.50.* What most of us conjure up only in nightmares really seems to happen to Jay Davidson, the narrator. When he goes for a job interview with a recording company, for instance, his answers all come out as lines from popular songs. He's not crazy, he tells us, just suicidally depressed, though he can't bring himself to prove it. We meet Jay on a psychiatric ward and follow his life after his release, but external events take a back seat to exchanges, remembered or invented, with voices from his past and present. If you're willing to suspend your disbelief—an artificial construct of sanity, after all—you'll experience some zany, hilarious highs as well as some wrenching lows.

FAMILY INSTALLMENTS: Memories of Growing Up Hispanic. *By Edward Rivera. William Morrow. $14.50.* In semiautobiographical episodes, Rivera tells of growing up Hispanic—how a boy known for the best-spelled graffiti in Spanish Harlem became the eloquent narrator of this wry yet tender book. The best parts are a cadenced, mythlike opening about his ancestors in Puerto Rico; a wonderfully irreverent section about making his First Communion; and a chapter describing a standoff between the students' broken English and their teacher's malapropisms (to him, Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* is "a tradegy, from the word *goat*") which makes for much miscommunication and misbehavior.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

NOT A VINTAGE YEAR

Volume XIX of *The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes* (Cambridge University Press), in two parts at a mere $85, was the best and most relevant public affairs contribution of the year. Covering the years 1922-29, Keynes's acute comments on unemployment, the end of laissez-faire, inflation and the gold standard remain depressingly applicable to Reagan's America.

Equally depressing is an excellent assessment of the present condition of socialism, *The Political Economy of Socialism: A Marxist Social Theory* (M.E. Sharpe, $37.50) by the Yugoslav economist Branko Horvat. By his account, socialism has failed in its Soviet version and not yet completely failed in his own country.

Schindler's List by Thomas Keneally (Simon and Schuster, $16.95) is an enthralling memorial to the German bon vivant, roué and speculator who earned a tree on Jerusalem's Avenue of Righteous Gentiles by saving hundreds of Jews during World War II.

Two thrillers of merit: Michael Gilbert's *End Game* (Harper & Row, $13.50), a neat, literate puzzle in the polite English mode, and Michael Thomas's *Someone Else's Money* (Simon and Schuster, $14.95), a savage, thoroughly enjoyable assault upon fraud, in Texas and in the New York art market.

RICHARD LINGEMAN

Lyndon *Baines* Johnson (as Barry Goldwater used to anathematize him in 1964) has usually been seen as a political figure as vast as the prairies, a Texas Gargantua with king-size virtues and Caligula-size faults. Now, in Robert Caro's *The Path to Power* (Alfred A. Knopf, $19.95), we have a biographer of commensurate scope. This first volume of a projected trilogy (titled *The Years of Lyndon Johnson*) gives us a wart-laden portrait of Johnson as a courthouse politician conniving on a national scale, a man riddled with petty vanities and veneries, whose only remotely spiritual quality is his vaulting ambition. Caro's big book has the paradoxical effect of shrinking L.B.J. back down to human size.

Timely and urgent documentation of the present Administration's appalling attitude toward nuclear war is provided by the dogged Robert Scheer in *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush & Nuclear War* (Random House, $14.95). Through persistent questioning, Scheer pins down the often hazy and slippery assumptions of the current stewards of the nuclear armory in Washington. The errors of Presidential power that led Johnson astray are still reigning.

But enough of V.I.B.s (Very Important Books). I also enjoyed a couple of human-scale novels—Dan Wakefield's *Under the Apple Tree* (Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence, $13.95) and Kurt Vonnegut's *Deadeye Dick* (Delacorte Press, $14.95). There's a Salingeresque 10-year-old protagonist in the former, a point of view Wakefield handles very well, but I liked the characterizations of the older people even better. I was delighted, too, by the echoes of Sherwood Anderson's voice in this novel of growing up in small-town Illinois during World War II. As for

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Vonnegut . . . well, he keeps me in stitches (sob). It happens that both of these writers hail from Indiana, which in the earlier days of the century produced more best-selling authors than any other state (two from my hometown alone). Not to mention Terre Hautian Theodore Dreiser, whose diaries (*The American Diaries, 1902-1926,* edited by Thomas P. Riggio, $28.50) have been published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in an edition of scrupulous scholarship. See that candlelight gleaming through the sycamores? (sob)

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

In a dry year for fiction, Graham Greene's *Monsignor Quixote* (Simon and Schuster, $12.95) was an oasis. As a foreigner trying to understand America, I was stirred by Russell Baker's *Growing Up* (Congdon & Weed, $15), and arguably too much taken with Jean Stein's *Edie: An American Biography* (Alfred A. Knopf, $16.95). Ian Hamilton is a friend, but that doesn't stop me from giving a plug to his *Robert Lowell* (Random House, $19.95). If one turns to books on politics, it's been a thin year except on the disarmament front. William Greider's *The Education of David Stockman* (E.P. Dutton, $5.95) is a necessary book and marks the arrival of an excellent new columnist at *Rolling Stone. The Wheat and The Chaff* (Seaver Books, $16.95), letters of François Mitterrand between 1971 and 1978, is the best set of reflections by a living politician I have ever read, and stands in bold contrast to the banality of Mitterrand's presidency.

KIRKPATRICK SALE

RESETTLING AMERICA: The Movement Toward Local Self-Reliance. *Edited by Gary J. Coates. Brick House Publishing (3 Main Street, Andover, Mass. 01810). $14.95.* This is a collection of essays and reports—from such people as Murray Bookchin, Amory Lovins, Peter van Dresser and David Morris—on how America can reshape itself into ecologically sound, economically self-sufficient and politically empowered regions and communities. Rich in anecdote and detail as well as analysis and theory, this represents the most important work of its kind since the pioneering studies by Lewis Mumford and the original Regional Planning Association in the 1920s.

THE ARGOT MERCHANT DISASTER. *By George Starbuck. Little, Brown. $8.95.* It is time something was said in favor of rhyme. It has been a component of poetry since the first post-Pleistocene prattlings, and adds to versification both the form that turns maunderings into craft and, often, the frisson of joy that makes words heart-turning and memorable. Yet from its absence in contemporary verse you would think it had all the relevance of the Sapphic stanza. Starbuck is one of the few modern poets to use rhyme, but he is a master, and it is a pleasure to see him at work, not only in those poems the New York School would dismiss as merely clever ("One may be dead as the ballade/but not, as yet, an utter clod") but in those of high sensitivity and seriousness ("all that the earth demands is the earth's share; /all we embrace and revel in and vow/never to lose, always to hold somehow, /we hold of earth, in temporary care").

THE LEGACY OF GREECE: A New Appraisal. *Edited by M.I. Finley. Oxford University Press. $22.50.* This collection of essays on the many achievements of ancient Greece—in literature, education, philosophy, city planning, political theory and much else—is meant to show the modern reader the ways through which that civilization still informs and inspires the modern industrial world. Among Greece's most important messages, made clear by Finley: "The absence of any central authority contributed to the preservation of the many common ways of behaving and thinking," and "a necessary condition for the strong community sense of the polis was smallness of size, both of territory and of population." Would that the message were heeded.

PAUL BUHLE

AFTER THE RAPTURE: Life in the New World. *By Raymond Schafer. Vision House (P.O. Box 3875, Ventura, Calif. 93006). $2.95.* Not a new book, but I just discovered it: an unconscious humor classic from the evangelical right, still presumably on Christian bookstore shelves. This intense Biblical analysis of the post-millennial earth wrestles with such questions as, Why won't everyone want to live in Hawaii? Will we keep our secondary sex characteristics? and our clothes? What about pets? Schafer's paradise is one great trailer-park vacation. Believers eat gourmet cuisine, dress up, play with pets that can't scratch the furniture or wet the floor, visit the stars with angels for tour guides and live forever at about age 30. But look out, sinners! Into the Lake of Fire I go for a review like this.

FIRESPITTER. *By Jayne Cortez. Drawings by Mel Edwards. Bola Press (P.O. Box 96, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014). $4.* Cortez is a friend, and this is her best book of poems yet. Intermixing black and women's rage with surrealist expectation, she dreams while cutting close to the bone. There's much pain, much blood here, but as she makes clear in a poem dedicated to the

BURNING THE DEAD

"Although the ancients did not know the precise reasons for removing the dead from society, all civilizations have done so. In modern times, we know that infection can be spread from the dead to the living."

Another assault on Syria, the casualties
mount, your son's away, your neighbor's two
children dead in combat. Radio news:
Lebanon's dead are burned to keep the city
free from epidemics. Sounds of torches.
Cluster bombs scathe Lebanon's civilians . . .
your enemies, your friends. Once, years before,
lying on sand, you gunned armed tanks to win
a country, Israel; now you would return
most of it, but can't. Leaders want war.
You cry, "Cease fire," David mourning an Absalom
he wanted whole, say bitterly, "Peace now."
No time to bury fallen citizens,
our love mounts, casualties too high to reckon.

Grace Schulman

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late poet Larry Neal, savagery compels a response of strange beauty. "Sink into the insurrection of red shanks/into the high pitch voltage of mosquito hums/ . . . Conform to evolution of your own syllables/to revolution of your own stanzas/because/suddenly it will be too soon/suddenly it will be too late." An exhortation and a warning to one and all.

THE FIGHT AGAINST SHUTDOWNS: Youngstown's Steel Mill Closings. *By Staughton Lynd. Singlejack Books (P.O. Box 1906, San Pedro, Calif. 90733). $9.95.* An expanded journal of day-to-day events in the Mahoning Valley, read over the kitchen table of Helen Lynd, co-author of *Middletown* published a half-century earlier. The conjunction is not accidental. The elder Lynds charted the pedestrian glory of the industrial Midwest; their son tallies the final bill for blind faith in the company, the job and the union. Staughton's terse prose reflects his unique participant-observer status: he's people's lawyer, historian, *engagé* journalist wrapped up in one. He needs no rhetorical flourish to talk about the human drama of decent people fighting for a way of life. Or to draw hard conclusions about the futility of anything less than direct action and a strategic program for the other Youngstowns across the nation. The book offers no cure-alls, but it is a magnificent document of history in the making.

BARBARA GRIZZUTI HARRISON

EDIE: An American Biography. *By Jean Stein. Edited with George Plimpton. Alfred A. Knopf. $16.95.* This was a smashing book—and not because poor Edie Sedgwick, descendant of Stockbridge Brahmins, was admirable, distinguished or even likable, none of which she was. Edie had all the privileges of money and caste; she also had a mother afflicted with a permanent case of the vapors and a father almost mythic in his swaggering sexuality, hubris and cruelty. Not an auspicious beginning. Edie achieved fame ever so briefly as a Warhol Superstar, an almost totally other-created person, manufactured in Andy's Factory—but her life was a downward spiral into a death chosen/not chosen at the age of 26.

Stein, who wisely refrains from hanging a sociological analysis on Edie's life, has chosen a tricky device, biogra-

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phy by interview without an informing editorial voice. It works: *Edie* reads like a novel and gives us as good a picture of the 1960s as we're likely to get. On the evidence provided, Warhol was nuts, and decadence is boring.

When I express admiration for *Edie*, a lot of people ask how it is possible to know whether the interviewees are telling the whole truth. The answer, of course, is that it isn't—particularly in the case of the self-aggrandizing, celebrity-hungry Warhol crowd—and that it doesn't matter. The lies people tell are as informative as the truths—and all these interviews add up to a kind of cumulative truth, a stunning picture of a girl who told her own deathly lies.

LEWIS HYDE

Czeslaw Milosz's *Visions From San Francisco Bay* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, $14.95) is one of the few books I read this year that actually changed my way of thinking. Half of the foods of my youth Milosz finds unpalatable (dream analysis, Western Europe's avant-garde, the solaces of nature, for example), but his argument is so fully thought out, so clear and compelling, that I have had to cede him much territory. Any reader who stopped answering the telephone for two months and wrestled with Milosz would emerge twice strengthened in mind and spirit.

Major publishing houses shy away from books that can't sell over 5,000 copies, creating an ecological niche within which the small presses flourish. One of the best is Holy Cow! Press in Minneapolis, and a good example of its work is *Walt Whitman: The Measure of His Song* ($20, paper $10), a collection of responses to Whitman's poetry (edited by Jim Perlman, Ed Folsom and Dan Campion). Reading through—from Thoreau's candid appraisal of Whitman's sensuality to Patricia Hampl's memoir of reading *Leaves of Grass* during the Vietnam War—one notices that it is the community of writers, not the academy, that has kept Whitman's spirit alive. You could not assemble a collection like this of responses to T.S. Eliot's work. Tell your bookstore that Holy Cow! books are distributed by Bookslinger.

Finally, Dale Worsley, a friend of mine, published a novel two years ago that has been unjustly ignored, *The Focus Changes of August Previco* (Vanguard Press, $10). Worsley is a white Southern writer; his narrative is told in the voice of a somewhat crazy black boy confined to a home for the retarded. Fully equipped with youth's desires—for adulthood, for freedom, for sex—August Previco is hopelessly unequipped to realize them. His story is comic in its telling, tragic in its resolution. Vanguard took a chance on this first novel: Who could possibly be the audience for such a tale? Any reader willing to enter a strange world fully realized in a fine style, that's who.

MARGO JEFFERSON

THE COLOR PURPLE. *By Alice Walker. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. $11.95.* The epistolary and the black oral traditions are joined in this wonderful tale of two sisters. Some prefer the first third of the book, where incest, beatings and the rural South prevail. I also love the remainder—where we see Africa, London, Memphis, all manner of sexual choice, and private lives immersed in "the past and present of the larger world."

ISAK DINESEN. *By Judith Thurman. St. Martin's Press. $19.95.* Dinesen liked to say she had sold her soul to the devil in exchange for the gift of story telling: she ruled her fictional universe with the highhanded exactness of a god. The life and work are all depth and richness one moment, surface and costume drama the next. Thurman documents and explores with intelligence, precision and a generosity that invites readers to offer as well as accept interpretations.

THE BOOK OF THE CITY OF LADIES. *By Christine de Pizan. Persea Books. $16.95.* This fifteenth-century writer calls mythology, history, theology and imagination to her aid in envisioning a glorious history of women; she also rewrites and refutes a host of poets and philosophers. We have here a medieval document of female separatism, and a record of battles between a woman writer and her literary male kin. De Pizan is by turns learned, fanciful, priggish, bold, austere and passionate.

AKÉ. *By Wole Soyinka. Random House. $14.95.* The memoir of a childhood lived out during a critical time—1934-44—and in a complex place—Nigeria. Nature, custom, religion, character, feelings and politics are the elements in a pattern elegant and commanding as a Yoruba mask.

A BOY'S OWN STORY. *By Edmund White. E.P. Dutton. $13.95.* A precocious Midwesterner tests his family,

ASSURANCES

The bad ground flowers once the house turns home.
Twice a day, it's lovely when the finches
bare their heads. Winter gave our skin back,
winter raised these rocks to light. Our yard

has memory. Yards resemble lakes at high water,
and they recall the gestures
of weather, the home like an island at their shore.

We shouldn't forget ourselves. A crow
won't pretend to have a name, an elm more dignity
than shape. We till sorrow into earth
but bad ground's home for only wind to move on.

We shouldn't hope for home. You died once.
I carried your ashes past the farthest
of your journeys, sent you on your way.
When I died, someone said my name and not a breath

faltered. Not breath of wind, which
changed my shape. Not trees, which turn ash
to their color. I was a day's hurricane
away from you. You were the expanse I flew through.

We never met. We meet now only where
our deaths cross, and that is good:
never did our names burn lovelier than eyes.

Richard Robbins

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Ruth Adams and Susan Cullen. Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science (1981). $6.45 Paper. An anthology of essays focusing on effects of a nuclear attack. ANM1

DEBATE ON DISARMAMENT
Michael Clark and Marjorie Mowlam. Routledge & Kegan Paul (1982). $9.45 Paper. An anthology of thoughtful essays on the arms race, concerning NATO, media coverage, etc. ANM2

WHEN THE WIND BLOWS
Raymond Briggs. Schocken Books (1982). $10.95 Cloth. A compelling look at the effects of nuclear war upon an elderly British couple, in comic book form. ANM3

FAREWELL TO ARMS
N.H. Ferry. Fellowship of Reconciliation (1978). $2.50 Pamphlet. An unusually clear presentation of the case for unilateral disarmament. ANM4

THE ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY II
Tom Gervasi. Grove Press (1981). $12.45 Paper. A concise, well-written reference book covering U.S. arms exports, deployment, foreign policy, arms systems and more. ANM5

THE BAROQUE ARSENAL
Mary Kaldor. Hill and Wang (1981). $8.75 Paper. Concerning rearmament strategies that fail to take into account social, economic and military realities. ANM6

THE NUCLEAR DELUSION
George Kennan. Pantheon (1982). $15.45 Cloth. A collection of essays by elder statesman Kennan, spanning thirty years. In this invaluable contribution to current debates, he advocates an important new approach to detente. ANM7

DAY BEFORE DOOMSDAY
Sidney Lens. Beacon Press (1981). $8.00 Paper. Focuses on the prevailing myths used to justify the growth of America's nuclear stockpiles. ANM8

INDEFENSIBLE WEAPONS
Robert J. Lifton and Richard Falk. Basic Books (1982). $8.45 Paper. Presents and debunks the underlying premises—both psychological and political—of superpower nuclear strategies. ANM9

THINKING ABOUT THE NEXT WAR
Thomas Powers. Alfred A. Knopf (1982). $12.95 Cloth. A collection of eloquent essays that first appeared in *Commonweal* magazine. ANM10

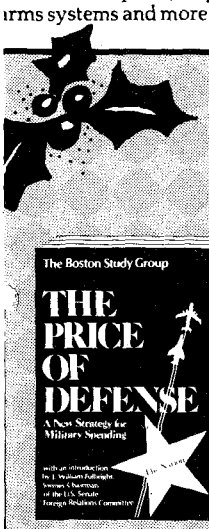
THE FATE OF THE EARTH
Jonathan Schell. Avon Books (1982). $4.00 Paper. The classic work on the wide-range effects of nuclear war. ANM11

WITH ENOUGH SHOVELS
Robert Scheer. Random House (1982). $16.45 Cloth. Portrays the men who are behind the drift toward nuclear war. ANM12

BEYOND THE COLD WAR
E.P. Thompson. Pantheon (1981). $7.45 Paper. Explores the ideologies behind the arms race and the cold war, and posits clear and forceful alternatives. ANM13

PROTEST & SURVIVE
E. P. Thompson and Dan Smith. Monthly Review Press (1981). $6.45 Paper. A seminal work on the clear and present danger of nuclear war; contains an appeal for a nuclear-free Europe. ANM14

KILLING OUR OWN
Harvey Wasserman and Norman Solomon. Delacorte/Delta (1982). $21.45 Cloth. Accounts from those who've suffered the effects of nuclear radiation, from Hiroshima to the present. ANM15



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his homosexuality and his capacity for rebellion and conformity. His weapons are cunning and need; the adults around him sport a civility and brutality like the matched sweater sets girls of the region used to wear.

GRACE SCHULMAN

THOMAS MANN: Diaries, 1918-1939. *Selection and foreword by Hermann Kesten. Translated by Richard and Clara Winston. Harry N. Abrams. $25 until January 1, $29.95 thereafter.* This book reads like an exemplum of our century, with Thomas Mann as the moral hero. It records Mann's inner struggles, his courageous humanism and his insistence on mastering the full range of social and intellectual issues in his world. The diaries reveal the clarity and depth of Mann's luminous mind, as well as his capacity to grow and change.

THE FLOWERS OF EVIL. *By Charles Baudelaire. Translated by Richard Howard. Illustrations by Michael Mazur. David R. Godine. $22.50.* Richard Howard captures certain opposite characteristics in Baudelaire's poetry: intimacy and distance; the colloquial and the formal; the familiar and the strange. The poems are beautiful; the translator's skill is at its highest and best.

WALTER BENJAMIN: The Story of a Friendship. *By Gershom Scholem. Translated by Harry Zohn. Jewish Publication Society. $13.95.* Gershom Scholem, the scholar who clarified and illuminated Jewish mysticism, and Walter Benjamin, who wrote of literature and translation with passion and lucidity, met in Berlin in 1915 and their friendship ended only with Benjamin's death in 1940. Here, Scholem writes of their fascinating relationship against the background of the age.

RICHARD HOWARD

EMERSON IN HIS JOURNALS. *Selected and edited by Joel Porte. Harvard University Press. $25.* Here we have an Emerson no longer clean and gray, but drastic and affectionate.

HANNAH ARENDT: For Love of the World. *By Elisabeth Young-Bruehl. Yale University Press. $25.* A wise woman's life in thought.

THE LETTERS OF LEWIS CARROLL. *Edited by Morton N. Cohen. Oxford University Press. $65.* Another hypertrophied but singular Victorian master of the word.

ECLOGUES: Eight Stories. *By Guy Davenport. North Point Press. $15. Paper $9.75.* These offerings to the unknown Eros delighted me, in part because they baffled my diagnosis.

BRINA CAPLAN

Clara Claiborne Park's fourth child, a daughter, was born autistic or became so in early infancy—no one is quite sure about these things. Fifteen years ago, Park published *The Siege: The First Eight Years of an Autistic Child*, an account of how she breached Jessy's strange isolation, teaching her to see, to hear, to understand language. This year, in a new edition of *The Siege* (Atlantic–Little, Brown, $14.95, paper $8.95), Park has brought Jessy's story up to date. The 4-year-old who seemed unconscious of speech is now a 24-year-old woman who can cook and sew, converse with energy and paint with real talent. Difficulties persist: Jessy remains exquisitely responsive to the click of a dishwasher yet unable to puzzle out the meaning of human tears. *The Siege* has much to tell us about how different we are from one another and how alike; about the limits of teaching and the possibilities of a family's love.

RICHARD GILMAN

THIS JOURNEY. *By James Wright. Random House. $10.50. Vintage Books $5.95.* A posthumous collection of poetry by a writer whose death at fifty-three in 1980 deprived us of a lovely voice. Many of the poems were written in Italy and are about Italian scenes and experiences; all of them are, beautifully, about the interplay of nature and mind.

SELECTED STORIES. *By Robert Walser. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. $16.50.* Walser was a Swiss-German writer who died in obscurity in 1956. In the early years of the century, his stories influenced Kafka, Hesse and Brecht, among others. Wonderful in their virtuosity, macabre yet glowing, lyrical and philosophical at once, these stories have few equals in any language.

INTERLUDE

He had his own prescription for entering
the life of his times.
This was what everything drifted to,
inexorably: His hand
on the small of her back.

She spoke about the special
loneliness of the city.

She said, lay down your arms, nothing
will come of this but more tears, more
unhappiness, on which you fatten and grow dull.
Enjoy the streets. The rain is
your proper element. Stop trying to light fires
where damp ashes are what is meant.

Goddess, destroyer, flaming-haired,
whiskey-throated,
the small birds keep their distance
when you walk across to me.

Harvey Shapiro

KAI BIRD

My father told me when I was very young that all I had to know in life to succeed was the last fifty years of modern history. I wish it were so, but these four books are a beginning, and fun to boot.

STRATEGIES OF CONTAINMENT. *By John Lewis Gaddis. Oxford University Press. $27.50. Paper $10.95.* Gaddis comes close to providing a definitive narrative of the intellectual underpinnings of the cold war. His account of George Kennan's role underscores our present incoherent policies toward the Soviet Union.

INTERLOCK. *By Mark Hulbert. Richardson & Snyder. $14.95.* Remember the hostage crisis? Well, Hulbert (of *Hulbert Financial Digest*) has an ex-

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planation for why it all took so long. Along the way you learn something about oil, international banking and Third World debt.

INSIDE THE MIDDLE EAST. *By Dilip Hiro. McGraw-Hill. $19.95. Paper $8.95.* In an extraordinary research job, this expatriate Indian journalist has written a history of the Middle East that places the Arab-Israeli conflict in proper perspective. It is much more complicated than you thought.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES: The Road to Power. *By Ronald W. Pruessen. Free Press. $19.95.* While the political biography of the season is Robert Caro's L.B.J. book, this account of our foolish Secretary of State's rise to power is a great sleeper. Pruessen's work is the first to draw fully on the Dulles papers housed at Princeton.

THE BRANDEIS/FRANKFURTER CONNECTION: The Secret Political Activities of Two Supreme Court Justices. *By Bruce Allen Murphy. Oxford University Press. $18.95.* This chronicle of an amazing political partnership does indeed show how power works in this country.

BARBARA EHRENREICH

This year the book I would most like to have written is *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air* by Marshall Berman (Simon and Schuster, $17.50). In a time of much nose-to-the-grindstone scholarship, it takes chutzpah to combine Goethe, Marx, Baudelaire and the Cross Bronx Expressway into a single thesis on the meaning of modernity. For my money, Berman succeeds brilliantly.

Another risk that works is *The New Class War: Reagan's Attack on the Welfare State and Its Consequences,* by Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward (Pantheon Books, $11.50, paper $4.95). While the rest of us have been cowering in despair, Reaganomics has inspired these two distinguished scholar-activists with fresh determination and intellectual perseverance. No pessimism here—this is a broad-stroked battle plan for class struggle that almost everyone (working class, middle class, poor) can join. For solid supplementary reading, I recommend Frank Ackerman's *Reaganomics: Rhetoric vs. Reality* ($7.50), published by the feisty and fast-growing South End Press.

It was a standout year for women's history, bringing us two lovingly detailed chronicles of women's lives and work: *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* by Alice Kessler-Harris (Oxford University Press, $19.95) and *Never Done: A History of American Housework* by Susan Strasser (Pantheon Books, $22.50, paper $11.95). Taken together, they explain exactly what women have been doing for the past 200 years, and why there wasn't much time left over for composing symphonies or formulating quantum mechanics.

My top-priority gift for politically inert relatives is Jonathan Schell's *The Fate of the Earth* (Alfred A. Knopf, $11.95; Avon Books, $2.50), partly because it lends itself to a good, stern, hortatory inscription. Just write "Is In Your Hands!" directly under the title, and wrap in a nuclear freeze petition.

VICTOR NAVASKY

Rare has been the season when so many excellent books were written so close to home. So forgive a Christmas list that reads like a cross between *The Nation* masthead and its table of contents. The tidings are glad when the gifts and accomplishments of friends and neighbors can be honestly celebrated, among them:

GREED IS NOT ENOUGH: Reaganomics. *By Robert Lekachman. Pantheon Books. $13.50. Paper $3.50.*

UNCIVIL LIBERTIES. *By Calvin Trillin. Ticknor & Fields. $10.95.*

HOMETOWN: A Contemporary American Chronicle. *By Peter Davis. Simon and Schuster. $14.95.*

THE NEW CLASS WAR: Reagan's Attack on the Welfare State and Its Consequences. *By Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward. Pantheon Books. $11.50. Paper $4.95.*

WATER: The Nature, Uses, and Future of Our Most Precious and Abused Resource. *By Fred Powledge. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. $14.95.*

READ ALL ABOUT IT: The Collected Adventures of a Maverick Reporter. *By Sidney Zion. Summit Books. $16.50.*

INDEFENSIBLE WEAPONS: The Political and Psychological Case Against Nuclearism. *By Robert Jay Lifton and Richard Falk. Basic Books. $15.50.*

THE PUZZLE PALACE: A Report on America's Most Secret Agency. *By James Bamford. Houghton Mifflin. $16.95.*

AN ORPHAN IN HISTORY: Retrieving a Jewish Legacy. *By Paul Cowan. Doubleday. $15.95.*

JEWS WITHOUT MERCY: A Lament. *By Earl Shorris. Anchor Press/Doubleday. $12.95.*

REVOLT AGAINST REGULATION: The Rise and Pause of the Consumer Movement. *By Michael Pertschuk. University of California Press. $18.95.*

And speaking of gifts, no one with friends interested in journalism (as readers or writers) should miss the chance to present them with Robert Scheer's exquisite entrapment of our cold war ideologues, who convict themselves in their own words in *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush & Nuclear War* (Random House, $14.95)—to be read in tandem with *The Fate of the Earth* by Jonathan Schell (Alfred A. Knopf, $11.95; Avon Books, $3.50).

Most underrated novel of the year: *Un-American Activities* by Richard Kluger (Doubleday, $19.95), an unsentimental, nonideological (and ultra-readable) journey through the popular front. □

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N	O	Q	U	A	R	T	E	R	■	E	S	S	E	N
A	■	U	■	M	■	S	■	T	■	R	■	T	■	E
G	R	E	N	A	D	I	E	R	■	A	P	R	I	L
E	■	D	■	S	■	N	■	A	■	L	■	U	■	E
■	■	■	■	■	S	T	R	I	P	L	I	N	G	S
H	■	R	■	I	■	H	■	T	■	S	■	G	■	S
O	V	E	R	S	L	E	E	P	S	■	■	■	■	■
M	■	C	■	L	■	B	■	A	■	K	■	S	■	D
E	L	I	Z	A	■	E	P	I	T	O	M	I	Z	E
W	■	T	■	N	■	L	■	N	■	S	■	G	■	F
A	W	A	R	D	■	F	A	T	C	H	A	N	C	E
R	■	L	■	E	■	R	■	E	■	E	■	E	■	R
D	E	S	T	R	O	Y	E	R	■	R	I	D	E	S

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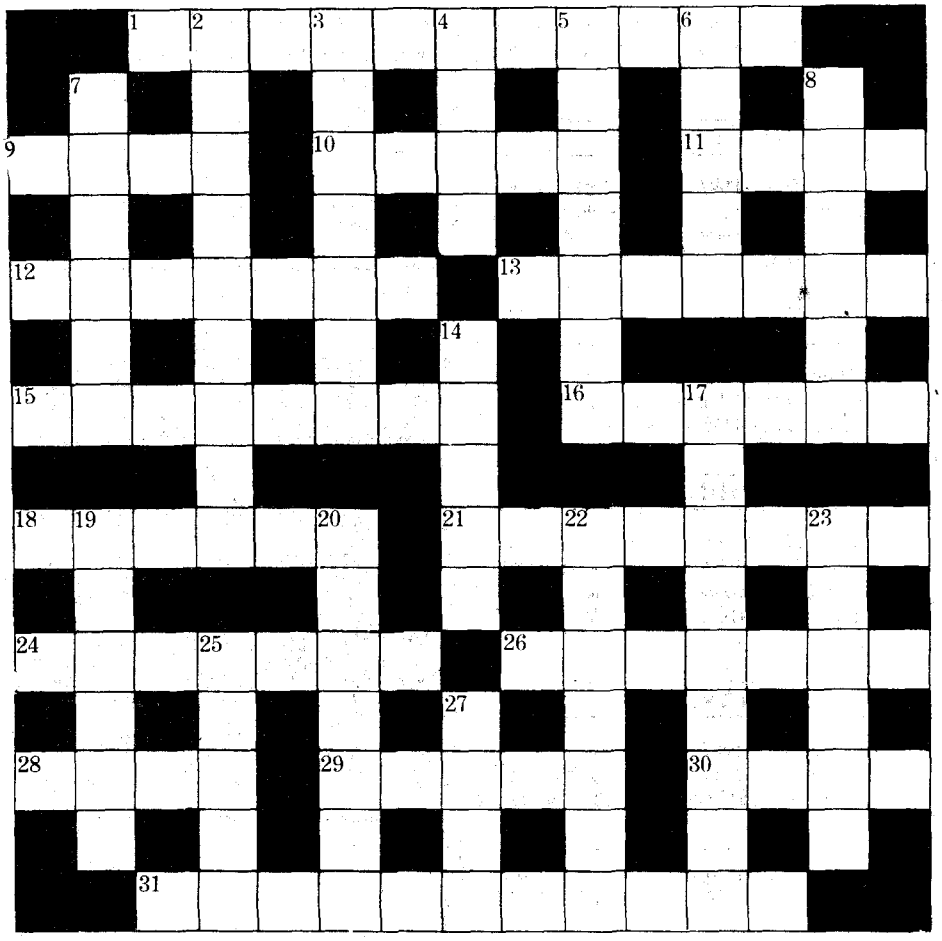
Crossword Puzzle No. 1943

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 19 down Temporal cliché that seems to imply you should digitally indicate what I have, keeping a certain amount of rhythm. (2,4,5,2,4)
9 and 23 down Remember what the polar hunter might have . . . (4,2,4)
10 . . . having dug what 9 was in, by the sound of it. (5)
11 Gray winders should be listened to, one hears. (4)
12 Some baseball teams are sort of 13 . . . (7)
13 . . . which shouldn't be broken, but might be when so prime. (7)
15 Puts on the brakes again? (It's about the end of certain games.) (8)
16 Send someone back where they came from, right in the station, as some say. (6)
18 A tramp might be this stiff, having something to carry. (6)
21 Reading a version of it among the flowers? (8)
24 It might be eaten in the most rude locations, as a sort of 22. (7)
26 You can make it seem set according to values. (7)
28 A body of African warriors? (Perhaps the GI at the crossroads has one on either side.) (4)
29 Describing the rights some want. (5)
30 Strangely enough, one might dine out in them. (4)
31 Animals coming from uncertain stock, as one speculates? (4,3,4)

DOWN

2 Is the darn confusion that badly marked? (9)
3 Like the ancient bard, such laughter is irrepressible. (7)
4 What songs are, according to the dynasty. (4)
5 Made to come one after another, as a meal might be. (7)
6 Proving a prophet may be no longer human. (5)
7 A take-out order . . . (6)
8 . . . for something like this? (6)
14 Fowler was concerned with it, (Partridge, quite logically, came later.) (5)
17 Describes usage, as an answer. (9)
19 See 1 across
20 Look, supposing we do find what cord goes through? (7)
22 Engaged in an illegal stock transfer, but didn't make much of a commotion as a sort of 24. (7)
23 See 9 across
25 I cut a slice of it in New York. (5)
27 Shared time in the vaudeville act? (4)

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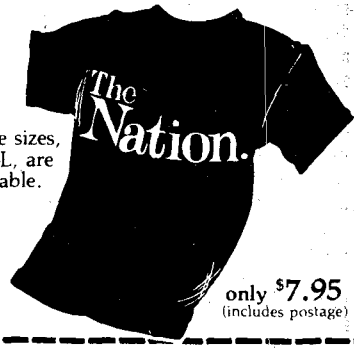

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